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# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO THE

TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of

One Thouſand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris ſervitutis, ac teſtimonium præſentium bonorum compoſuiſſe. TACIT. Agricola.

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JAMES I.

# THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## BOOK SIXTH.

From the Union of the two Crowns, to the Reſtoration of CHARLES II.

## JAMES I.

AT the death of Elizabeth, the crown of England peaceably devolved to James VI. of Scotland, as the deſcendant of Henry VII. who was great grandfather to both his parents; and he ſucceeded to the Engliſh throne in the thirty-ſixth of his age. Immediately after the deceaſe of Elizabeth, the council, with the unanimous conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal then at London, proclaimed the new king; to whom they diſpatched a letter, by Sir Charles Piercy and Sir Thomas Somerſet, to notify his acceſſion, and receive his commands. But Robert Cary, ſon to the lord Hunſdon, was the firſt perſon who arrived at Edinburgh with the tidings of Elizabeth's deceaſe. James no ſooner underſtood

A. C. 1603. James king of Scotland proclaimed king of England.

A. C. 1603. that he had been proclaimed, without the leaſt oppoſition, than he began to prepare for his journey to England. In the mean time, he ſent Sir Roger Aſhton to inform the council and nobility of his intention; and confirmed the lord-keeper, with all the reſt of them, in their offices, during pleaſure. Having left a commiſſion with his Scottiſh council, for the adminiſtration of affairs in that kingdom, he, on the fifth day of April, departed from Edinburgh, attended by the duke of Lennox, the earls of Mar, Murray, and Argyle, the lords Hume and Kinlos, Sir George Hume treaſurer, and ſecretary Elphinſton. He had received from the Engliſh council ſix thouſand pounds to defray the expence of his journey; and the ſheriffs of the counties through which he paſſed had been ordered to attend him in their reſpective diſtricts, and ſupply him plentifully with proviſions and other neceſſaries. The people in general expreſſed the moſt tumultuous joy at his entering the kingdom. The towns through which he travelled vied with each other in the magnificence of their entertainments. The roads were crowded with innumerable multitudes, who came to ſee their new ſovereign. They called aloud to heaven to bleſs him with a long and proſperous reign: the air rung with repeated acclamations; and he was feaſted and flattered in ſuch a manner, that one of his attendants could not help ſaying, the Engliſh would ſpoil a good king. James was not at all pleaſed with the concourſe of people that continually ſurrounded him. Though meanly familiar with his particular friends and courtiers, he was extremely averſe to crowds and ceremony. Perhaps he was aſhamed of his ungracious figure, and aukward addreſs; and, in all probability, he did not think himſelf ſafe in the midſt of ſo many ſtrangers. Whatever were his motives, he certainly iſſued a proclamation,

tion, forbidding all ſtrangers to approach his perſon. At York he received the reſpects and homage of almoſt all the nobility in the kingdom; and there he favoured ſecretary Cecil with a moſt gracious reception, contrary to the expectation of every body in the kingdom: for that miniſter had been the inveterate enemy of Eſſex, whom James conſidered as a martyr to his intereſt; and he was moreover ſon of that Burleigh who had brought the king's mother to the block. He had, notwithſtanding thoſe diſadvantages, found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of James, with whom he had carried on a correſpondence during the latter part of the queen's reign. In all appearance he accommodated himſelf to the king's notions of government, and rendered himſelf neceſſary to his occaſions, by his wealth, experience, and ſagacity. This prince had conceived a moſt romantic notion of the kingly prerogative; and, in order to communicate this idea to his people betimes, he commanded a thief to be hanged at Newark, without any form of trial. A. C. 1603. Wilſon. Stowe.

His character diſagreeable to the Engliſh.

When he arrived at Theobalds, a houſe belonging to Cecil, he was viſited by the council in a body, and augmented the number of the members, with ſome of his Scottiſh attendants; namely, the duke of Lennox, the earl of Mar, the lord Hume, and Sir James Elphinſton. He likewiſe added the lord Zouch and baron Burleigh, brother to ſecretary Cecil. He afterwards admitted the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, together with Thomas and Henry Howard, ſon and brother of the late duke of Norfolk. The firſt of theſe was, in the ſequel, created earl of Suffolk and lord treaſurer; and the other was promoted to the earldom of Northampton. The king's gratitude to this family, which had been ruined for its adherence to his mother's cauſe, was not limited to theſe

A.C. 1603. benefits. He reſtored to his title Thomas Howard, ſon of the earl of Arundel who had been condemned in the reign of Elizabeth. By theſe ſteps, he ſignified his diſapprobation of her conduct; and payed ſo little regard to her memory, that he would not ſuffer any perſon to appear at his court in mourning. Notwithſtanding the good-will which the Engliſh people had manifeſted towards their new king, they ſoon began to draw odious compariſons between him and his predeceſſor. They were ſhocked at his reſerve; they ridiculed his perſon, and they deſpiſed his conduct. He had already diſcovered marks of idle prodigality; and dealt out his honours with ſuch a laviſh hand, that, before he reached London, he had conferred the order of knighthood upon two hundred perſons. In a few days after his arrival in the capital, he doubled that number. Thomas Sackville, baron of Buckhurſt, and lord-treaſurer, was created earl of Dorſet: the barony of Eſſendon was beſtowed upon Sir Robert Cecil the ſecretary, afterwards viſcount Cranburn, and finally earl of Salisbury; and Philip Herbert, brother to the earl of Pembroke, was promoted to the earldom of Montgomery. While the king was on the road from Scotland, he had given orders for releaſing rhe earl of Southampton, who, with the ſon of Eſſex, was reſtored to his honours and eſtate: but the lords Grey, Cobham, Carew, and Sir Walter Raleigh, met with a very cold reception from his majeſty. They had been concerned in the death of Eſſex, and were now deſerted by Cecil, though he had acted as their confederate in that tragedy. The king's reſentment demanded a ſacrifice; and the ſecretary was not ſorry at the diſgrace of Raleigh, whoſe talents had excited his jealouſy. This cunning politician ſoon gained an aſcendancy over the ſpirit of James, who, with very little experience and judgment,

*SACKVILLE* Marquiſs of *DORSET.*

ment, had gleaned some knowledge from books, which rendered him extremely self-conceited, and laid him open to the arts of adulation. A. C. 1603.

While the courtiers plied him on this weak side, with the most extravagant encomiums upon his wisdom, learning, and capacity, extolling him as the Solomon of the age, and flattering him with the epithet of his most sacred majesty; the nation in general despised him for his timidity, his ridiculous attachment to worthless favourites, certain low prejudices he had imbibed from nature and education; and they saw, with resentment, his partiality in favour of his own countrymen. These not only engrossed his bounty, but also became so insolent, that daily quarrels arose; assassinations were committed; and the people did not scruple to exclaim that there was a necessity for Scotch vespers, alluding to the massacre of the Provençals in Sicily. James understood the general maxims of government in theory; but he wanted resolution to put them in practice. He looked upon hereditary right as indefeasible, and the regal power as absolute and without controul. He was encouraged in these sentiments by Cecil the secretary, the earl of Suffolk lord-chamberlain, and Northampton keeper of the privy-seal, to whom he left the chief management of his affairs. Though the English people detested these maxims, they were still more disgusted by the disagreeable pecularities of his disposition. He neglected all business, to indulge his passion for hunting: when the country people assembled in crouds, while he was engaged in that diversion, he used to curse them bitterly, and protest he would leave the kingdom, rather than be subject to such intrusion. Such was his aversion to company, that he issued an order, forbidding all persons to enter the drawing-room but the lords and gentlemen in waiting; a prohibition which all Beaumont. Rymer.

A. C. 1603. the people of fashion resented as an affront. It must be owned, however, for the credit of his administration, that he suspended, by proclamation, all the monopolies which had been granted in the late reign to the prejudice of commerce; superseded all illegal protections for the delay of suits, and put a stop to the abuse of purveyors.

He suppresses monopolies.

Strype.

In a little time after his arrival in London, he sent a numerous train of noblemen and ladies into Scotland, to accompany his queen and children to his new dominions. She accordingly set out for England with prince Henry and the lady Elizabeth; but Charles being sickly, did not arrive till the month of October in the following year. James met his consort at the house of Sir George Farmer at Easton near Towcester, from whence he accompanied her to Windsor. Anne was a princess of violent resentment. She had lately miscarried, from a transport of indignation, at Stirling, where the servants of the earl of Mar refused to deliver prince Henry into her hands; and although the earl himself had no concern in this refusal, she would not be reconciled to him, until after she had been some time in England. When the king removed from the Tower to Greenwich, he knighted two hundred and thirty-seven persons, exclusive of a general summons, commanding all who possessed forty pounds a year in land, to come and receive the order of knighhtood, or else compound with the king's commissioners. This was an expedient to raise money, suggested by Cecil, which did not at all inhance the reputation of the king; nor did he recommend himself to his subjects by his severity to Valentine Thomas, of whom he had complained to queen Elizabeth, that he had calumniated his person. This man still remained in prison at the accession of James, who now brought him to his trial; and he was condemned for having conspired

The queen and prince Henry arrive from Scotland.

conſpired againſt queen Elizabeth and ſome members of her council. A. C. 1603. Memoirs de Sully.

Henry the French king being well acquainted with the weakneſs of James, ſent over the marquis de Roſny, afterwards duc de Sully, to compliment him upon his acceſſion to the throne of England; but his chief errand was to hinder the king from being cajoled by the Spaniards, to whom he had a warm ſide, and to renew the defenſive alliance which had been made with Elizabeth; deſigns in which he ſucceeded according to the wiſhes of his maſter. The count d'Aremberg, ambaſſador from the archduke Albert and the infanta Iſabella ſovereigns of the Low-Countries, had got the ſtart of the marquis de Roſny. During this miniſter's reſidence in England, he was either ſick or feigned indiſpoſition; and it was not till after the departure of the marquis, that he deſired the king would ſend one of his council to know the purport of his embaſſy, which imported nothing but general compliments; though, in all probability, he had inſtructions to obſerve what paſſed at the court of James, and ſound the monarch's inclinations touching a peace with Spain. Theſe, indeed, he had already demonſtrated, by recalling all the letters of marque which Elizabeth had granted to individuals. He receives embaſſies from the French king and the archduke.

He not only hankered after a pacification with Spain; but likewiſe entertained an averſion to the ſtates-general, although they had more than once relieved him in his neceſſities. Such was his idea of the kingly power, that he looked upon the Dutch as rebels, and even branded them in public with that denomination. Nevertheleſs, finding his new ſubjects of very different ſentiments; and being convinced by the marquis de Roſny of his true intereſt, he, in his treaty with Henry IV. of France, agreed that they ſhould be allowed to levy troops in the dominions of both kings, who ſhould alſo aſſiſt Peace with France, and a negotiation with Philip III. of Spain.

A. C. 1603. assist them with the annual sum of one million four hundred thousand livres, to be advanced by the French king, though he was at liberty to deduct one third of it from the debt which he owed to Elizabeth. It was also stipulated, that the two kings should mutually assist each other with a certain number of forces, in case of their being attacked by the Spanish monarch. Notwithstanding these engagements, James longed to be at peace with Philip III. who soon sent Taxis as his ambassador to congratulate the king on his accession, and demand that commissioners might be appointed to treat of a peace. The negotiation was accordingly begun, and ended in a treaty, which was ratified in the following year.

Memoirs de Sully.

Conspiracy against the King's life by Sir Walter Raleigh and others.

The plague raging with redoubled force at London, during the heat of summer, the court retired to Wilton, an house in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, belonging to the earl of Pembroke. During the king's residence at that place, he discovered the plan of a strange conspiracy, projected by the lords Grey and Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin, Markham George Brook, Anthony Copley, and two popish priests, named William Watson and William Clark. The design was to dethrone James, and substitute in his place his cousin Arabella Stuart. Lord Cobham undertook to treat with the archduke at Brussels, for a supply of six hundred thousand crowns; as well as to present letters from the lady Arabella to the archduke, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, engaging to take a husband at their recommendation, and grant a free toleration to the catholics. The conspirators had also agreed that lord Cobham should demand the king's permission to levy two thousand men for the service of the Hollanders, and with those very troops to make sure of his majesty's person. They had actually conferred with the count d'Aremberg, and

and settled the shares of the money allotted to each individual. Lord Cobham had, by letter, desired an audience of the lady Arabella, in order to make her acquainted with the scheme; but, instead of granting his request, she forthwith sent his letter to the king. The design was discovered by a sister of Anthony Copley, who being alarmed at an expression which dropped from her brother, imparted it to her husband, and he communicated his suspicion to the lord admiral. Copley being apprehended, confessed the design. The other conspirators were arrested, tried at Winchester, and convicted of high treason. Raleigh made such a vigorous defence, and so little appeared against him, that every body exclaimed against those who found him guilty, though he was at that time the most unpopular man in the nation, on account of the part he acted in the prosecution of Essex. He was now condemned on the single testimony of the lord Cobham, a nobleman of weak intellects, and an infamous character. He had even retracted his first evidence against Raleigh, though he afterwards affirmed it; nor was he produced in court upon the trial. Notwithstanding these appearances of innocence, and the small likelihood of his engaging in such an unpromising scheme, with a set of idle confederates, divided in interest, politics, and religion, this great man was undoubtedly guilty. He had been superseded in his post of captain of the guard, and lost his office of lord warden of the stanneries: his passions were turbulent and impetuous; and the transports of his resentment overwhelming all his reflection, hurried him into this imprudent conspiracy. Cecil prosecuted him in the most rancorous manner, and Coke the attorney-general reviled him upon his trial in the most scurrilous terms of reproach. George Brook and the two priests were executed: the lords Cobham and Grey, with Mark-

A. C. 1603.

Beaumont Dep.

A. C. 1603. Markham, were pardoned on the ſcaffold, even after having laid their heads upon the block; and Raleigh, though reprieved, was detained many years in the Tower, where he wrote his hiſtory of the world.

Camden.

Petitions for toleration by the papiſts and puritans.

Immediately after the diſcovery of this plot, the king returned from Wilton, and with the queen was crowned at Weſtminſter. Then he publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all perſons, who were not immediately neceſſary, to approach the court till winter, on account of the plague, which in the courſe of one year had ſwept off above thirty thouſand ſouls in London, though the whole number of inhabitants at that period did not amount to two hundred thouſand. The papiſts, fluſhed with the hope of a toleration, under a monarch who at one time ſeemed to favour their religion, preſented a petition for this purpoſe: and were not a little mortified when he gave them to underſtand that he thought himſelf obliged to maintain thoſe regulations in religion which he found in force at his acceſſion. Though James was no enemy to the catholic religion, he was extremely averſe to their attachment to the court of Rome, and the power of the papacy; add Cecil had perſuaded him that a toleration was incompatible with his regal power and prerogative. The puritans flattering themſelves with the hope of a more favourable anſwer from a prince who had been educated in their religion, petitioned not only for a toleration, but likewiſe demanded that he would give order for reforming ſome articles of the Engliſh doctrine and diſcipline with which they could not conform. There was no ſet of people which James deteſted ſo much as the puritans. The Scottiſh preſbyterians had thwarted him on many occaſions: they had treated his perſon with indecent familiarity, and his power with diſreſpect; and the republican ſpi-

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rit by which they were animated could not but be extremely odious to a prince who prided himself in cherishing the most arbitrary maxims of absolute monarchy. A. C. 1603.

He had by this time joined in the English communion, and resolved to oblige the dissenters to a conformity with the established religion: but, with a view to maintain the appearance of impartiality, he desired that a conference might be held between some bishops and ministers of the puritan party at Hampton-court, where the king appeared in person, not as a judge, but with all the zeal of a warm partisan. He began with declaring that he would not alter one tittle of the established religion; and, indeed, they did not dissent so much in doctrinal points as in the exterior forms of worship, and in the government of the hierarchy. They complained, that the churches were filled with ignorant pastors; that they were obliged to conform to the book of Common-prayer, that contained many things which their consciences could not digest; that the clergy were subjected to the censure of laymen, by means of the high commission-court, which exercised the king's ecclesiastical supremacy: that the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and the surplice worn by the priests, were superstitious ceremonies, and remnants of popery. These important articles produced warm debates, in which the king mingled with great eagerness. The chancellor exclaimed that he had often heard the priesthood was united to royalty; but now he was convinced of that truth by the learned arguments of his majesty. Archbishop Whitgift carried his flattery still higher, in declaring, he was persuaded that the king spoke from the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The puritans, far from reaping any advantage from this conference, were exhorted to conform to

Conferences at Hampton-court between the churchmen and dissenters.

A. C. 1604.

Wilson, Coke.

A. C. 1604. the eſtabliſhed church, and even threatened with ſevere proſecution, in caſe of diſobedience. If there was any ſtate ſcheme on the part of the king in this diſputation, it was to perſuade the public that the miniſters of the puritans were fairly confuted, and that nothing but obſtinacy hindered them from uniting with the church; but in all probability he had no other deſign in propoſing the conference than that of enjoying an opportunity to diſplay his learning.

A great number of proclamations publiſhed.

In a few weeks after this fruitleſs conference, the metropolitan ſee of Canterbury became vacant by the death of archbiſhop Whitgift, who was ſucceeded by Richard Bancroft, a declared enemy of the proteſtant diſſenters, againſt whom he raiſed ſuch a perſecution, that a great number of families retired to other countries, where they could enjoy liberty of conſcience. In the later end of February, a proclamation was iſſued, commanding all jeſuits and prieſts ordained by foreign power, to leave the kingdom; and this was followed by another againſt the proteſtant nonconformiſts. A third was publiſhed, prohibiting all perſons from hunting but ſuch as were duly qualified. A fourth ordained, that an annual feſtival ſhould be kept in remembrance of the king's miraculous deliverance from the conſpiracy of Gowry; and, in a word, ſo many ordinances of this ſort appeared, that this was called the reign of proclamations. In that by which the parliament was convoked, he exhibited a ſtrong ſpecimen of his arbitrary diſpoſition. He commanded the counties and boroughs to return members of ſuch qualifications as he deſcribed, on pain of their being excluded from parliament; and threatened any city, borough, or corporation, which ſhould act contrary to this order, with fine and deprivation of privileges. On the fifteenth day of March, the king and queen rode in proceſſion through

through the ſtreets of London, which was now free from the plague; and, on the ſeventh day of July, the parliament met at Weſtminſter. A. C. 1604.

To this aſſembly James made a long harangue, expatiated upon the happineſs of the nation in his acceſſion to the throne; explaining his ſentiments of religion, and enforcing the maxims of his government. It was a cold, tedious, diffuſe oration, ſtuffed with pedantic conceits, culled and ſtudied for the occaſion; and formed a natural picture of his own diſpoſition and character, the ſtrongeſt features of which were his ſublime notion of the prerogative, his averſion to the puritans, his tenderneſs towards the Roman catholics, his vanity and ſelf-importance. Inſtead of that admiration with which he hoped to inſpire his audience, he met with little elſe than diſapprobation and contempt. The members were offended at the expreſſions he uſed in favour of the Roman catholics, whom he promiſed to meet half way in the road of reformation. The puritans were incenſed to find themſelves repreſented by the king as a ſect of republicans that ought not to be tolerated in a monarchical government; and the nation in general were diſguſted at his comparing Scotland with England, as one equal half of the iſland, which he wiſhed to ſee united under the ſame religion, laws, and government. The buſineſs with which the parliament began, was an act to acknowledge and confirm his title to the crown of England, though he would have willingly diſpenſed with this mark of their regard, as he depended entirely on his hereditary title. His branding the puritans, without diſtinction, as men of a turbulent and republican ſpirit, not only alienated that powerful ſect from all affection to him and his family, but alſo obliged them, for their own preſervation, to unite and coaleſce with the political malcontents of the king- Proceedings in parliament. Echard. Wilſon. Coke.

A. C. 1604. dom; and this junction formed a party ſtrong enough to ſhake the Engliſh monarchy to its foundation. As James had, in his proclamation for convoking the parliament, ſtruck at the freedom of election, the houſe of commons took the firſt opportunity of aſcertaining their own privileges. Sir Francis Goodwin being returned for the county of Bucks, was pronounced an out-law by the chancellor. His ſeat was vacated; a writ iſſued for a new election, and Sir John Forteſcue choſen in his room. The houſe reverſed the chancellor's decree, and reſtored Sir Francis to his ſeat. They refuſed to hold a conference with the lords on this ſubject. In a remonſtrance to the king, they maintained, that though the returns were made into chancery, the right of judging elections belonged to the houſe: yet they afterwards appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council; and, in order to ſave the honour of the king, who intereſted himſelf warmly in this affair, they agreed to an expedient which he propoſed; namely, that both Goodwin and Forteſcue ſhould be ſet aſide, and a writ be iſſued, by warrant of the houſe, for a new election: thus, however, they ſecured their own right of judging ſolely in their own elections and returns. This was the firſt effort of that parliamentary ſpirit which in the next reign became too powerful for the ſovereign. The commons were no longer a paſſive herd, obſequious to the will of an imperious monarch. They had acquired wealth and property from traffic: their ideas were expanded by learning and commerce, which now had made conſiderable progreſs in many parts of Europe, as well as in England; and they were fired with a ſpirit of independence, which they had now an opportunity of exerting to advantage, under a weak prince, a foreigner, who did not underſtand the genius of his ſubjects, and who, inſtead

stead of conciliating their affection, incurred the hatred of a powerful party, by his ridiculous and impolitic distinctions. James had nothing so much at heart as the union of the two kingdoms. This seems to have been his chief end in assembling the parliament, which he thought he had eloquence enough to persuade into such a measure. They accordingly appointed commissioners to treat with those of Scotland; but they were too much incensed at the king's partiality for his own countrymen, to deliberate in earnest upon the proposal. In the mean time, James, in order to abolish the distinction of England and Scotland, assumed the title of king of Great Britain; joined the armorial ensigns of the two kingdoms; and, by an express proclamation, rendered the Scottish coin current in England. The commons were already so dissatisfied with their new monarch, that when a supply was proposed by some members attached to the court, warm debates arose; and the motion would have been rejected by a majority, had not the king prevented that disgrace by sending a message to the house, declaring he desired no subsidy. Then he prorogued the parliament, in which he had the mortification to see the puritanical interest plainly predominate.

A. C. 1624. Wilson. Coke.

Immediately after the prorogation, a treaty of peace with Spain was concluded at London, as also another that wholly related to commerce. They were negotiated by Taxis and Richardot, and afterwards signed by the constable of Castile, who came over from the Low-Countries for that purpose. The most remarkable article of this peace imported, That James should fix a day, before the expiration of which, the states of the United Provinces should make peace with the archduke; and, in case of their refusal, the king of England should deem himself absolved from all engagements with that confederacy.

Peace with Spain.

A. C. 1604. racy. Nevertheleſs, he neither fixed the time, nor withdrew his troops from their ſervice: nay, he even reſtored the places they had mortgaged, on payment of a much ſmaller ſum than that for which they were depoſited. It was after the concluſion of this treaty, that the town of Oſtend capitulated, having been three years beſieged by the Spaniards, who found nothing in the place but heaps of ruins in recompence for the vaſt ſums of money, and the incredible number of lives which had been expended in the conqueſt. James, without concerning himſelf about the fate of this fortreſs, reſolved to improve his new connection with Spain; and the earl of Nottingham lord high admiral was appointed his ambaſſador extraordinary to that court, for which he took his departure with a very numerous and magnificent retinue; while the earl of Hertford was diſpatched as envoy to Bruſſels.

Baker.

A. C. 1605. Gunpowder plot. James had not long enjoyed the benefit of this pacification, when he was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, by one of the blackeſt conſpiracies that ever was hatched. The laws againſt popiſh recuſants had been put in execution; and their eſtates were ſequeſtered, and aſſigned to courtiers, with whom they were forced to compound. Theſe ſeverities inflicted by a prince from whom the papiſts expected the mildeſt treatment, exaſperated them to ſuch a degree, that the ruin of him and his family became their conſtant wiſh and prayer; and ſome bigots of that perſuaſion devoted him to deſtruction. Robert Cateſby of Aſhby, and Francis Treſham of Ruſhton in Northamptonſhire, encouraged by Henry Garnet ſuperior of the Engliſh jeſuits in England, had immediately before the death of Elizabeth ſent Thomas Winter to Spain, to ſollicit an invaſion of their own country; and even after the death of that princeſs, they employed other emiſſaries to carry on the negotiation:

but

but all their measures were broken by the last treaty between James and Philip; and they concerted a new scheme of a much more horrible nature. The invention is charged to Catesby, who proposed that the house of lords should be blown up with gunpowder at the opening of the session of parliament, when the king, queen, prince of Wales, with all the lords spiritual and temporal, the judges, and the most considerable persons of the kingdom would be present. Their purpose was, after this dreadful massacre should have been effected, to secure the person of the princess Elizabeth, who lived with her governess the lady Harrington at Combe near Coventry, proclaim her queen, and charge the mischief on the puritans. For the execution of this infernal scene, Piercy one of the conspirators hired a vault or cellar immediately under the house of lords; and by means of Fawkes an old soldier, whom they had brought from Flanders, conveyed into it thirty barrels of gunpowder, artfully covering them with billets and faggots, as a store of fuel which Piercy had provided for the winter. Private attachment hath often prevented public calamity. Before the parliament met, William Parker lord Monteagle, received a letter from one of the conspirators, probably from Tresham, who was kinsman to his lady, advising him to be absent from the ensuing session; for God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of the times; and intimating, that the parliament would sustain a terrible blow, without knowing from whom it should come. He likewise observed, that the danger would be past in as little time as he should take to burn the letter. Monteagle, being puzzled by this advertisement, carried it at midnight to the earl of Salisbury, who being as much perplexed as the other about the meaning of those enigmatical expressions, A. C. 1605.

A. C. 1605. consulted the earl of Suffolk, who was lord chamberlain. The letter was afterwards imparted to the earls of Nottingham, Worcester, and Northampton, before the king came to Westminster from Royston. James, having carefully perused this dark intimation, is said to have guessed the design of the conspirators; and though many people believed he was on this occasion prompted by Cecil, who made this little sacrifice to the king's vanity, no reason appears in history for depriving him of the honour of the discovery. Personal timidity was one of his principal foibles which he is said to have inherited from his mother's womb; and derived from the fright she underwent at the murder of Riccio. Fear is ever quick-sighted; and the imagination of such a prince must have been always teeming with those ideas that were the most dreadful to his apprehension. Nothing is so terrible to a coward as the effect of gunpowder; and this having been uppermost in the recollection of James, no wonder that he should interpret into an explosion, the sudden, unseen blow that should come without their seeing who hurt them, and have its effect in as little time as a man would take to burn a letter. It was resolved that the houses and vaults adjoining and belonging to the house of peers, should be searched on the eve of the intended meeting of parliament. On the fourth day of November, the lord chamberlain, accompanied by the lord Monteagle, went as usual, to take a slight survey of the neighbouring houses; and the cellar being left open, to avoid suspicion, perceived an extraordinary quantity of wood, which he thought Piercy could not possibly consume for his own use in one winter. This circumstance augmented his suspicion; and Sir Thomas Knevet steward of Westminster was ordered, on pretence of searching for stolen tapestry, to see the wood removed, that

if

if there was any thing underneath, it might appear. A. C. 1605.
He went thither at midnight, with proper attendants, and apprehending Fawkes at the cellar-door, in his boots, with a dark lanthorn in his hand, found a tinder-box, and three matches in his pockets; then the wood being removed, they discovered the barrels of gunpowder. He appeared as Piercy's servant, and was hardened enough to avow his design, when examined before the council; but he refused to discover his accomplices, who hearing of his being apprehended, fled into different parts of the country. Catesby, Piercy, and the chief of the conspirators, retired to Warwickshire, in hope of raising, by the interest of Sir Everhard Digby, a sufficient number of recusants to seize the princess Elizabeth, who was immediately removed to Coventry: so that this design was also prevented. Then they repaired to Holbech in Staffordshire, the seat of Sir Stephen Littleton; and there they were invested by Sir Richard Walsh high-sheriff of Worcestershire, with his posse, as they had broke open stables, and stole horses in the adjoining counties. In preparing for their defence, they met with a miserable disappointment in the explosion of their gunpowder, by which some of them were terribly scorched. Nevertheless their case being desperate, they resolved to force a passage through their assailants. Catesby, Piercy, and the two Winters were killed on the spot; Graunt, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates were taken and conveyed to London, where they discovered all the circumstances of the conspiracy. Tresham being afterwards apprehended, confessed the whole plot, and was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died of a strangury. The earl of Northumberland being committed to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, was afterwards condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds for

A. C. 1606. having admitted Piercy into the band of penſioners, without exacting from him the oath of ſupremacy. On the twenty-ſeventh day of January, eight of the conſpirators, of whom Sir Everhard Digby pleaded guilty to the indictment, were convicted of treaſon; and he, together with Robert Winter, Graunt, and Bates, were executed at the weſt end of St. Paul's church-yard. Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes, ſuffered in the Old-palace-yard. Garnet, ſuperior of the jeſuits in England, was condemned for having adminiſtred the oath of ſecreſy, with the ſacrament, to the conſpirators; and otherwiſe encouraged them in the undertaking. At his execution, he confeſſed the guilt and iniquity of the enterprize; and exhorted the Roman catholics to abſtain from all ſuch treaſonable practices. Littleton, Hall, and others, were executed in the country; and the lord Monteagle was rewarded with a grant of lands to the value of two hundred pounds a-year, and an annual penſion of five hundred.

Winwood. Thuanus. Wilſon. Echard.

Severe acts againſt the catholics.

The parliament meeting on the appointed day, adjourned to the ninth of November, when the king in a long ſpeech, aſſumed the merit of having unriddled the myſterious letter; and, in order to manifeſt his tenderneſs to the catholics, diſtinguiſhed between thoſe who acknowledged the pope's ſupremacy, and ſuch as were good ſubjects to their ſovereign, though they believed in tranſubſtantiation, and other ſcholaſtic dogmas of the Roman church. At the ſame time he did not fail to diſcloſe his averſion to the puritans, whom he repreſented as a ſect that deſerved to be puniſhed with penal fire, becauſe they believed that no papiſt could be ſaved; as if this was not a reproach that might have been much more juſtly levelled againſt the whole body of catholics: but this is one of the many abſurdities of his rancorous prejudice againſt thoſe

those who were supposed to favour republican prin- A. C. 1606.
ciples. The two houses having passed an act, for observing the fifth day of November as an annual thanksgiving for the deliverance of the king and parliament, proceeded to take measures for the discovery of popish recusants, and the prevention of their treasonable designs. In one statute they enacted, That those who should be found guilty of having absented themselves from the church for one whole month, should forfeit two thirds of their estates: That all conformists should receive the sacrament once a-year in their parish-churches: That all recusants should take a new oath of allegiance, renouncing the papal power of absolving subjects from the obedience due to their sovereign; and abjuring, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine of Rome, implying, That princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, might be deposed, or murdered by their subjects. But the most severe step taken against the catholics, was another act, prohibiting popish recusants from coming within ten miles of London, or going to the distance of five miles from their own houses, without special licence signed by four justices of the peace: from practising law or physic: from acting as judges, clerks, or officers in any corporation, or as executors or administrators: from presenting to livings, schools, or hospitals; and rendering their children incapable of inheriting estates, should they omit taking the oath of allegiance at the age of eighteen. These acts, however, dictated by the resentment of the nation, were not rigorously put in execution; though the majority of the catholics, with Blackwell their superior, consented to take the oath of allegiance, notwithstanding a brief of pope Urban VIII. who forbade them to comply on pain of eternal damnation.

A. C. 1606. The mutual danger to which the king and parliament had been expoſed from the gunpowder plot, ſeemed to increaſe their regard for each other; and the commons indulged him with a ſubſidy which amounted to four hundred thouſand pounds. This was a very ſeaſonable ſupply for enabling him to entertain his brother-in-law the king of Denmark, and the prince of Vaudemont third ſon of the duke of Savoy, who viſited his court in the courſe of this ſummer, and were regaled at an incredible expence with plays, balls, maſks, and interludes, which did more honour to the hoſpitality than to the taſte and invention of the entertainer. The proroga-tion of the parliament being expired, James earneſtly exhorted the two houſes to bring the union of the two kingdoms to perfection; and Bacon the ſollicitor-general recommended it in a very elegant harrangue. The king had already publiſhed a proclamation, declaring all thoſe who were born ſince his acceſſion to the throne of England, naturalized in both kingdoms. Hearing the two houſes were very backward in proceeding upon this ſubject, he ſent for them to Whitehall, where he undertook to anſwer all their objections; and told them they would be guilty of a double iniquity, ſhould they refuſe to grant his requeſt. Notwithſtanding theſe eager remonſtrances, the parliament would not agree to the union; and all he could obtain was, a revocation of the hoſtile laws ſubſiſting between the two nations. The Engliſh objected to an union with a kingdom ſo inferior to their own in power, riches, and extent: to the difference of laws and cuſtoms; and to the antient league between France and Scotland: but the real ſource of their averſion to this meaſure was a national animoſity, inflamed by the king's partial diſtribution of his favours. Sir Chriſtopher Pigot, knight of the ſhire for Bucks, launched out into invectives againſt the Scots, whom he reviled as proud

The averſion of the Engliſh to an union with Scotland.

proud fellows, robbers, beggars, rebels, and traitors. He said twenty Scots were not worth one Englishman: and that there was no more comparison between the one and the other, than between a judge on the bench and a thief at the bar. The natives of Scotland who belonged to the court were so incensed at these reflections, that they not only retorted the obloquy, with menaces of revenge, but also presented a formal complaint to the king, who entered warmly into the resentment of his countrymen, thinking himself insulted in the general reproach. The house being informed of his majesty's displeasure, ordered Pigot to be brought to the bar, where he qualified his expressions by protesting, that he did not mean to revile the whole Scottish nation; but that his words related only to some part of the Western islands. Notwithstanding this explanation, he was expelled the house, and committed to prison. Yet, after the recess of parliament during the Easter holidays, many members spoke with great acrimony in contempt of the king's person, and even pronounced the Scots happy in being remote from the presence of such a prince. James was so exasperated at these indecent freedoms, that in a speech to the parliament, he declared, since they wished his absence, he would either reside alternately in England and Scotland, or fix his habitation at York or Berwick. The commons intended to have desired, in an address, that he would not listen to private reports, but learn the sense of the house from the mouth of the speaker; that he would give those members whom he had blamed an opportunity to clear themselves in his presence, and allow them to speak freely in parliament on any subject that might fall under their cognizance. The king being apprised of their intention, sent a message, importing, That he was extremely tender of their privileges; and A. C. 1607.

that

A. C. 1607. that every member might speak freely, though with modesty and discretion. When they had passed the bill for abolishing the laws of hostility against the Scottish nation, he prorogued the parliament to the sixteenth day of November, and the prorogation was afterwards continued.

At this period, an insurrection happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leicester. The peasants assembled to the number of four thousand, under the command of John Reynolds, known by the appellation of captain Pouch, and for a whole month employed themselves in demolishing parks and inclosures. The sheriffs raising their posses, worsted them in several encounters: at length they dispersed, in consequence of a proclamation, promising redress of their grievances; and captain Pouch with some other ring-leaders being taken, were executed for high treason. In the beginning of this reign, the lord Montjoy had brought the earl of Tyrone from Ireland, and presented him to the king, from whom he met with a very gracious reception. But he was of such a restless and turbulent spirit, that he could not live in quiet; and after his return to his own country, he not only raised a fresh insurrection, but even demanded succours from foreign powers. His efforts miscarrying, he fled to the continent with the earl of Tyrconnel, whom he had engaged in his rebellious practices; and pretended that the cruelties exercised upon the papists of Ireland had compelled him to quit his country. James, in answer to this calumny, published an apology, to prove that he had treated the Roman catholics with great tenderness. In the beginning of this year, the archduke had sent father Ney, provincial of the order of St. Francis, with proposals of peace to the states of the United Provinces; and prince Maurice gave him to understand, that

Baker. Coke.

King James publishes an apology for his conduct.

*CECIL* Earl of *SALISBURY.*

that there could be no pacification, unleſs the king of Spain would acknowledge the provinces as a free and independent ſtate. The eccleſiaſtic having ſignified this anſwer to the archduke, was diſpatched a ſecond time to Holland, with a writing ſigned by Albert and the infanta, with which the ſtates-general were ſatisfied, on condition that it ſhould be ratified at the court of Spain. Henry IV. of France, being informed of this tranſaction, ſent the preſident Jeanin, to offer his mediation to the ſtates, which they forthwith accepted. But, in order to avoid giving cauſe of jealouſy to James, they demanded his advice and aſſiſtance; and afterwards ſent an ambaſſador to London, to make him acquainted with the ſituation of their affairs. When Philip's ratification arrived, it was found ſo full of equivocal expreſſions, that they were obliged to demand an explanation, in conſequence of which demand the negotiation was protracted; though, in the mean time, both ſides enjoyed the benefit of a ceſſation. A. C. 1607. Grotius.

The ſucceeding year was remarkable for little elſe than the execution of two popiſh prieſts, who refuſed to take the oath of allegiance: the death of the earl of Dorſet, who was ſucceeded in his poſt of lord high treaſurer, by Cecil earl of Saliſbury; an excluſive privilege granted to a merchant for dreſſing and dying broad-cloth, which had formerly been ſent to Holland for that purpoſe: the king's monopolizing the ſale of alum, which had been lately diſcovered in England: a difference with the Dutch, who were forbidden to fiſh upon the coaſts of Great Britain, until they engaged by treaty to pay a yearly ſum for that privilege; and the enmity which archbiſhop Bancroft expreſſed againſt the puritans, a great number of whom reſolved to ſettle in Virginia, where they hoped to be out of the reach of perſecution. Many families actually embarked A. C. 1608.

A. C. 1608. barked for that colony; and the reſt were prevented by a proclamation, forbidding them to quit the kingdom without an expreſs licence from the king, who began to fear this ſect would become too numerous and powerful in America. James continued to indulge himſelf in his favourite diverſion of hunting, and diſpenſed his favours with ſuch a prodigal hand, that he was expoſed to all the mortifications of indigence. Indeed, ſeveral circumſtances concurred with his own laviſh diſpoſition to involve him in manifold difficulties. The crown was indebted at his acceſſion in a large ſum, which Elizabeth had borrowed of the Londoners. That princeſs had alienated or mortgaged the crown-lands, in order to exempt her ſubjects from impoſitions. The increaſe of gold and ſilver in Europe, after the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, had not only introduced a more luxurious manner of living than that which had obtained in the reigns of his predeceſſors, but at the ſame time raiſed the price of proviſions and every other commodity: ſo that, as his ſubjects became wealthy from commerce, he became power; for his revenue did not increaſe in proportion: the fee-farm rents underwent no alteration; and the crown-lands were let in long leaſes, greatly under value.

James's prodigality.

Though James payed very little regard to the affairs or intereſt of the States-general, yet he did not fail to demand the payment of the debt which they owed to the crown of England, amounting to eight hundred and eighteen thouſand four hundred and eight pounds ſterling. After ſome diſputes, matters were adjuſted, and the plenipotentiaries of each nation ſigned a defenſive league, importing, That James ſhould aſſiſt in obtaining for the ſtates a juſt and honourable peace; and defend them with a certain number of ſhips and forces, in caſe they ſhould be attacked. In return for theſe ſtipulations,

Treaty with the Dutch.

lations, they entered into the like engagements for the safety of him and his dominions. In another treaty concluded at the same time, they acknowledged themselves indebted to him for the sum already specified, and promised to discharge it at the rate of thirty thousand pounds payed half yearly; the first payment to commence in two years after the peace with Spain. All former treaties were confirmed, together with the privileges heretofore enjoyed by the English in Holland, and the Dutch in England. A. C. 1608. Winwood, Rymer.

These treaties being ratified, the king of England sent Robert Spencer to the Hague, with powers to assist at the congress, in conjunction with Winwood his ambassador in ordinary. The king of Spain had ratified the archduke's declaration touching the independence of the States, only on condition, that the peace should take effect; and they refused to treat on any other footing than that of a free state. They also received intelligence, that Philip had endeavoured to detach the king of Great Braitain from their interest, by means of Don Fernando de Gironne, who repaired to the court of London, in quality of ambassador extraordinary. This circumstance was the more alarming, as James declared, upon all occasions, that he looked upon the Dutch as rebels; for he did not believe that in any case whatsoever, subjects had a right to withdraw themselves from the dominion of their sovereign. These being his sentiments, no wonder that his ambassadors acted a very inconsiderable part at the negotiation for a general peace. Jeanin the French president directed the conferences; but, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he could not obtain the consent of both parties to a pacification. Thus baffled, he proposed a truce for twelve or fifteen years; and to this with difficulty they agreed. The king of Spain and the arch- Truce for twelve years between the king of Spain and the States-general. A. C. 1609.

A. C. 1609. archduke acknowledged the States as a free and independent power, and they ſtill maintained their commerce to the Eaſt-Indies, which had been one of the principal difficulties that occurred in the negotiation. Theſe advantages were not at all agreeable to the king of England, who conſidered their ſucceſs as a precedent dangerous to the regal authority, of which he entertained ſuch a ſublime idea, that, in the courſe of this year, he granted a licence to print and publiſh two books, written in defence of the moſt deſpotic maxims. The firſt, compoſed by one Cowel a clergyman, maintained, that the king was not bound by the laws of the land, or by the oath which he took at his coronation. The author of the ſecond was doctor Blackwood another eccleſiaſtic, who affirmed as a leading principle, that by the conqueſt of William the Norman, the Engliſh had forfeited all their liberties. James underſtanding how much the people were offended by theſe performances, and hearing the parliament intended to make examples of the authors, anticipated their reſentment, by prohibiting the ſale of the books, and recalling the copies by proclamation.

Grotius.

A. C. 1610. Diſcontent of the commons. Being by this time reduced to great diſtreſs for want of money, he reſolved to ſolicit a ſubſidy in this ſeſſion; and the houſes meeting on the nineteenth day of February, the earl of Saliſbury was ordered to demand the ſupply. In order to conciliate their affections, he began with aſſuring them, that his majeſty was reſolved to redreſs all their grievances; and, as a mark of his ſingular affection, would confer the order of knighthood upon his eldeſt ſon Henry prince of Wales, during the ſeſſion. He then proceeded to explain the cauſes of the king's indigence, obſerving, that he had paid the debts of the late queen; that he had maintained an army of nineteen thouſand men in Ireland;

Ireland; that he had expended great ſums in the funeral of Elizabeth, in his own journey, and that of his queen and children, from Edinburgh to London; in entertaining the king of Denmark, and the foreign ambaſſadors; in maintaining three ſeparate courts for himſelf, his conſort, and the prince of Wales; in ſending envoys to different courts on the continent; and in liberalities to his officers and dependents. He launched out into extravagant encomiums upon the king's wiſdom and probity; and declared that his majeſty, far from intending to rule deſpotically, was ready at all times to hear the remonſtrances of his parliament, provided they would confine themſelves within proper bounds, without deviating from that reſpect which was due to ſuch a great and gracious ſovereign. Notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, the members of the houſe of commons loudly complained of the king's prodigality and exceſſive profuſion towards his own countrymen. Others ventured to affirm, that his intention was to ſap the privileges of the ſubject by gradual uſurpation. He had been heard to declare at his own table, that the civil law of the Roman emperors ought to be ſubſtituted in room of the common law of England; and approved of the treatiſe called the Interpreter, written by Dr. Cowel on that ſubject; but the chief cauſe of their complaint was the high commiſſion court, which had exerciſed great ſeverities againſt the puritans, whoſe party was eſpouſed by a majority of the commons. A. C. 1609.

James, being informed of theſe proceedings, had recourſe to his own eloquence, which he thought irreſiſtible, and harangued the two houſes at Whitehall. His ſpeech, however, was very ill calculated to ſoothe the animoſity of his people. He told them, that the prerogative of kings reſembled the divine power: that, as God could create or annihilate, They proceed with great vivacity againſt the king's conduct.

A. C. 1610. annihilate, make or unmake, according to his own will; so kings could bestow life or death, and judge all mankind without being subject to any earthly judicature. They could exalt the lowly, and abase the lofty: and, like persons playing at chess, make a simple pawn overcome a knight or bishop: nevertheless, all kings, that were not tyrants, would confine themselves to the laws they had enacted. He affirmed, that as it was held blasphemous to dispute what God may do, so was it seditious in subjects to dispute what a king might do in the height of his power. He assured them of his attachment to the common law, provided it were reviewed and corrected. He desired they would not intermeddle with him on the exercise of government, which he called King-craft; for he had been thirty years at the trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship in England; so that there needed no Phormios to teach Hannibal. Finally, he expatiated upon his own necessities, and demanded a supply; observing that his reputation was now at stake among foreign princes; for, should his request be refused, the world would impute his disappointment either to his own lack of merit or to their want of affection. The commons, though highly disgusted at some of the maxims he had broached, thought proper to dissemble their resentment, and express a willingness to comply with the king's desires. The earl of Salisbury moved for a conference with the commons, in order to obtain an adequate supply for his majesty's present occasions, as well as a grant for two hundred thousand pounds a year, for the future support of his royal dignity. The commons fired at this proposal, and voted only one subsidy and one fifteenth, which did not amount to the sixth part of what had been asked for the king's present occasions. They refused to settle any standing revenue, unless the king would purchase it with some

Wilson.

some valuable consideration. They complained of A. C. 1610.
respites of homages, and consented to settle an annual revenue of two hundred thousand pounds, provided wardships should be suppressed, purveyances abolished, and some further privileges granted to the subject: but they afterwards rose in their demands, and insisted upon the redress of their grievances. They complained of the king's pretending that his proclamations ought to have the force of laws; of the power arrogated by the high commission-court; of his majesty's having altered the book of rates, and imposed new customs on certain species of merchandise. They petitioned that no body should be forced to lend money to the king, or to give a reason for his refusal; and, having received divers messages forbidding them to debate upon his right of laying imposts, they represented that it was their fundamental right to debate freely upon all matters that concerned the subject. They afterwards passed a bill against taxes and impositions on merchants and merchandise; but it was thrown out of the house of lords at the first reading. Winwood.

During this session, young Henry was created prince of Wales in the sixteenth year of his age. He was a youth of very promising talents and an amiable character; by which he acquired the love and esteem of the English people. He spent his time in studies becoming a prince, and exercised himself in the most manly diversions. He possessed the advantage of a fine person; and there was a martial turn in his disposition, that could not but be agreeable to a warlike nation. He kept his court at St. James's, while his mother resided at Somerset-house, where she lived at great expence: so that James was obliged to maintain three separate households, as has been already observed. At length the parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth

The king creates his son Henry prince of Wales.

A. C. 1610. teenth day of October; the king and they parting equally dissatisfied with each other

Echard. Coke.

James began to leave the administration entirely in the hands of his ministers; and, while he indulged himself in hunting, payed very little attention to the affairs of the continent, when the house of Austria endeavoured to aggrandize itself at the expence of its neighbours. The elector of Brandenbourg, and the duke of Neuberg, who were competitors for the succession of the duke of Cleves, perceiving that the emperor Rodolphus II. intended to defraud them both of the inheritance, compromised their difference; and implored the assistance of France and Holland. Henry IV. had already resolved to humble the house of Austria, and was glad of having this pretence for commencing hostilities. He promised to lead his troops in person into the country of Cleves; and desired the States-general to send thither prince Maurice with part of their forces; but in the midst of these preparations, he was assassinated by Ravillac, who stabbed him as he alighted from his coach, in the very middle of his own capital. The murderer was a desperate bigot, who had lately resided in Brussels, where his enthusiasm had been inflamed by the emissaries of Spain. As he had acted upon the maxim of the jesuits, who looked upon Henry as an heretic in his heart, James was alarmed at an event which might affect his own preservation: in order to secure himself against a set of men, who maintained such a detestable doctrine, he published a proclamation, commanding all jesuits to quit the kingdom, and prohibiting all popish recusants from coming within ten miles of the court. Then he exacted the oath of allegiance from all his subjects.

Henry IV. of France is assassinated.

Although the court of Spain was generally suspected of having effected the death of the French monarch,

monarch, James discovered a warm inclination to be more closely connected with Philip. Perhaps he thought it would be a prudent step to acquire the friendship of a power so formidable to protestant princes. He therefore dispatched the lord Cornwall to Spain, with proposals of a match between the prince of Wales and the eldest infanta. Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, died about this period, after he had obtained a patent for founding a college at Chelsea for the maintenance of able theologists, to confute, in their sermons and writings, the adversaries of the English church, whether papists or puritans. Bancroft was succeeded in the metropolitan see by George Abbot, who was of a character very different from that of his predecessor, and even accused of being a puritan in his heart. When the parliament re-assembled, the king found the commons still inauspicious, complaining, and inquisitive; and therefore dissolved them by proclamation, after they had sat seven years. Then the ministers were obliged to find means for raising money to relieve the king in his necessities.

A. C. 1610. Abbot promoted to the see of Canterbury. Wilson.

The court now expressed uncommon joy at seeing him freed from such troublesome counsellors: it resounded with music, mirth, and jollity, while the English and Scottish dependents vied with each other in their endeavours to attach the king to some favourite, who should be the dispenser of his bounty. He was much more pleased with personal beauty than any other qualification; and the first object that made an impression upon him was Robert Carr, a youth who had been his page in Scotland. Since that time he had travelled in France, and acquired some exterior accomplishments, which served to set off the beauty of his person. The lord Hay, looking upon him as a proper subject for the king's weakness, caused him to be arrayed in

A. C. 1611. Robert Carr becomes the king's favourite.

A. C. 1611. the gayeſt apparel; and, at a public tilting match, inveſted him with the office of preſenting the buckler and device to his majeſty. Performing this ſervice, his horſe, being unruly, flung him to the ground, and his leg was broke by the violence of the fall. James could not help taking particular notice of this accident; he was ſtruck with the beauty of Carr's perſon, as well as with the richneſs of his apparel, and gave order for his being lodged in the palace, where he viſited him after the tournament. He found him extremely illiterate, and was charmed with his ſimplicity; reſolving to mould this ductile clay according to his own fancy and inclination. He now undertook the office of a pedagogue, for which indeed he ſeemed to have been deſigned both by nature and education. He took infinite pleaſure in teaching him the rudiments of the Latin tongue. He created him knight, and gentleman of his bedchamber. The earl of Dunbar, who poſſeſſed a good ſhare of the king's favour, dying at this juncture, Carr engroſſed the whole without a rival, and ſucceeded that nobleman as treaſurer of Scotland. He was afterwards made baron of Brandſpech, and viſcount of Rocheſter; finally honoured with the order of the garter, and enriched with grants and donations *.

James, about this time, was rouſed from his indolence by a theological diſpute that happened in Holland between the diſciples of Francis Go-

* The king having one day preſented him with an order upon the Exchequer for five thouſand pounds ſterling, the earl of Salisbury, lord high-treaſurer, made uſe of a ſtratagem to convince the king of his own prodigality. He invited his majeſty to dinner, and conducted him through an apartment, where he ſaw the whole ſum in ſpecie upon a table. James, ſurpriſed at the ſight of ſo much gold, aſked what uſe he intended to make of this treaſure? and the other anſwering, with affected indifference, it was the money which his majeſty had ordered for the viſcount of Rocheſter; the king ſwore it was too much for any private man, and deſired the treaſurer would give no more than two thouſand pounds. Wilſon.

marus

marus and James Arminius, concerning absolute predestination, and the inamissibility of grace. Arminius dying, his place of professor of theology in the university of Leyden was filled with Conrad Vorstius, professor at Steinfort, who had already published a treatise intitled De Deo, which had drawn upon him the enmity of all the Gomarians. He published an apology; notwithstanding which they reviled him as a Socinian, and offered to demonstrate damnable errors in both his performances. The king of England, having perused his treatise and apology, was so shocked at his heretical opinions, that he forthwith sent a list of them to Winwood his ambassador at the Hague, with orders to declare to the States, that he was resolved to publish a manifesto, expressing his detestation of those errors, as well as of those who permitted them to be circulated. In the mean time he ordered some copies of the treatise and apology to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, at London, Oxford, and Cambridge. The States-general, though not a little shocked at the insolence of his interposition, answered the ambassador's memorial in a civil manner; yet, nevertheless, Vorstius was received in his professorship. James wrote to them, declaring that simple death was too gentle a punishment for such a wretch, whom if they resolved to tolerate, he would separate from the communion of Holland, and take such measures that other churches should follow his example. The States, being unwilling to break with the king of England, told the ambassador, that they had ordered Vorstius to abstain from the exercise of his office, until a new assembly could be convened, in order to enquire into the affair. James, not yet satisfied with this answer, published a declaration, in which he treated the States of Holland with very little ceremony; and

A. C. 1611.

James declares himself an enemy to Vorstius the successor of Arminius.

Winwood. Wilson.

A. C. 1611. they, in order to avoid a quarrel, dimiſſed Vorſtius from Leyden, though they procured another ſettlement for him at Goada. All this exertion in James, a prince of remarkable indolence, who had already treated tranſubſtantiation and the number of the ſacraments as ſcholaſtic queſtions, of little conſequence to ſalvation, is not to be accounted for but from his vanity and ſelf-conceit. He thought himſelf the moſt able theologiſt in the whole world; and, after he had ſignified his ſentiments on this diſpute, he could not brook the leaſt oppoſition. Perhaps too he was influenced by motives of reſentment againſt penſionary Barnevelt, the patron of Vorſtius, whom he hated as a rank republican.

His ſagacity in forming Ireland.

No tranſaction of this reign reflected ſo much honour on the ſovereign as did the ſettlement of Ireland, in which James had been ſeriouſly engaged ever ſince his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne. He began with paſſing an act of oblivion, to quiet the minds of the people. He took them into his immediate protection, indulged them with the benefit of the Engliſh laws, and cauſed juſtice to be adminiſtered with the utmoſt impartiality. Wicklow, Wexford, Tyrone, Tyrconnel, the northern parts of Ulſter, half of Connaught, and all Munſter were divided into counties, ſupplied with ſheriffs and juſtices of the peace; and the judges made their circuits regularly twice a year. The lords and chieftains made ſurrender of their lands to the crown; and, before they were regranted, all oppreſſive exactions were aboliſhed. The Iriſh duties, rents, and ſervices, were valued and reduced to certain ſums of money, on payment of which the tenants poſſeſſed their lands in ſecurity; ſo that the moſt miſerable ſlavery was ſucceeded by wealth and independence. Tyrone, Tyrconnel, Odogharty, and other rebellious chieftains, being forfeited; their poſſeſſions, together with Ard-

magh,

*HENRY STUART* Prince of *WALES*.

magh, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, and Fermanagh, A. C. 1611.
which had escheated to the crown, were granted out in different portions to English, Scottish, and Irish adventurers, in order to be properly cultivated. Carte.
These undertakers obliged themselves to make certain improvements; and, in a word, such measures were taken, that Ulster, the wildest part of Ireland, became one of the best cultivated countries in Europe.

James now enjoyed himself in the most profound A. C. 1612.
tranquillity, which was seldom invaded but by the Death of the prince of Wales.
difficulty he found in raising money for his ordinary expence. He caused his mother's body to be transported from the church of Peterborough to Westminster, and deposited in the chapel founded by Henry VII. and, in the course of this year, he had an opportunity to exhibit an agreeable specimen of impartiality in the execution of lord Sanquar, a Scottish nobleman, who was convicted for having murdered a fencing-master. In vain did the archbishop of Canterbury and several other noblemen intercede for this malefactor: James, perceiving how much the English nation was exasperated at his partiality for his countrymen, prudently sacrificed him to their resentment. In the month of October, Frederic V. elector palatine, arrived in England, in order to espouse the princess Elizabeth; and was entertained with great magnificence: but, in the midst of these rejoicings, the nation was overwhelmed with sorrow, by the death of Henry prince of Wales, who, being seized with an epidemic fever, expired on the twelfth day of November, in the nineteenth year of his age. He Coke. Wilson.
is celebrated by historians as one of the most promising princes that ever any country produced, and died universally regretted by the people, not without suspicion of poison, which was even imputed to the contrivance of his own father. But

A. C. 1612. this seems to be a groundless calumny, built upon some expression of the king, which argued him jealous of his son's popularity, and afraid of his martial disposition. Certain it is, prince Henry despised his father's pusillanimity, and publicly disapproved of his conduct; and James payed so little deference to the memory of this excellent prince, that he would not even allow the courtiers to wear mourning. His death did not even interrupt the preparations for his daughter's marriage: which, however, was deferred a few weeks, until Henry's funeral obsequies could be performed.

A. C. 1613. The princess Elizabeth is married to the elector palatine.

The elector palatine, having been installed a knight of the garter, was, on the fourteenth day of February, married to the princess Elizabeth, and the nuptials were celebrated with incredible pomp and profusion; the expence of which the king was enabled to defray by an aid from the people. This he demanded and received, as an antient custom observed upon all such occasions. The elector remained in England about six weeks after his marriage; and all that time was spent in feasts, balls, masquerades, and other diversions. The city of London made a superb entertainment for the new married couple, and presented the electress with a pearl necklace of immense value. In the month of May, James sustained another irreparable loss by the death of Cecil earl of Salisbury, a solid politician, who was perfectly acquainted with the genius of the people, and the affairs of the kingdom. His weight and sagacity served as a counterpoise to the rashness and ignorance of the other ministers; and he possessed the art of diverting the king insensibly from the pursuit of measures that might have been attended with pernicious consequences. He was succeeded in the post of treasurer by the earl of Suffolk, who had neither his talents nor integrity.

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The lord Rocheſter ſtill continued to engroſs the favour of his ſovereign, and bore his good fortune with ſuch equanimity and diſcretion, as rendered him equally agreeable to the prince and people. He carefully avoided the leaſt appearance of partiality towards his own countrymen, and conducted himſelf according to the counſels of Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of virtue, ſagacity, and experience, who carefully directed him how to ſhun thoſe rocks upon which ſo many favourites had been ſhipwrecked. But at length, all the wiſdom of the monitor proved inſufficient to guard him againſt the allurements of a baneful paſſion that hurried him into ruin and diſgrace. He became enamoured of the counteſs of Eſſex, daughter to the earl of Suffolk, one of the moſt beautiful young ladies in the kingdom. She had been married at the age of thirteen; and her huſband, being likewiſe a minor, the conſummation of the marriage was deferred until he ſhould return from his travels. Mean while Rocheſter found means to make an impreſſion upon her heart, and they gratified their mutual paſſion in ſtolen interviews. The king himſelf was privy to this amour; for he delighted in acting the part of a confident in ſuch intercourſe, as well as in liſtening to tales of obſcenity, which his courtiers often invented for his entertainment. The return of Eſſex interrupted the enjoyment of the lovers: that nobleman, fired with the charms of his young conſort, claimed the privilege of a huſband with all the impatience of youthful ardour. She had conceived a deteſtation of Eſſex, which increaſed in proportion to her affection for Rocheſter: ſhe treated him with indifference, coldneſs, and repulſe; and, by means of one Turner, a phyſician's widow, had recourſe to a pretended magician of the name of Forman, who ſupplied her with powders, which he ſaid would render her huſband impotent. Whatever means

A. C. 1613. Amour between lord Rocheſter and the young counteſs of Eſſex.

A. C. 1613. means were used, the earl found it impossible to converse with his lady, who practised so many extraordinary methods to inspire him with aversion and disgust, that she at length succeeded in her endeavours. He began to think she was different from all the other individuals of her sex; and the extravagant sorrow she affected to display, persuaded him that her heart was in the possession of some more favoured lover. On these considerations he neglected her in his turn; and when he discovered the intercourse between her and Rochester, which became every day more and more notorious, he relinquished her intirely, as an abandoned woman unworthy of his affection.

She is divorced from her husband.

The countess, not satisfied with being the mistress, eagerly wished to be the wife of Rochester, to whom she communicated her sentiments on this subject; not doubting but that, by his influence with the king, she could procure a divorce from her husband. When Rochester imparted this scheme to Sir Thomas Overbury, that faithful counsellor argued with great vehemence against such an expedient, which he said would be attended with infamy and disgrace. The countess being apprised of his opposition, marked him out as a sacrifice to her resentment; and, as the favourite was by this time infatuated by her charms, engaged him in a plan for the destruction of Overbury. He told the king that Sir Thomas was become insolent and unruly; and desired that he might be sent ambassador to Muscovy. Then he persuaded Overbury to refuse the office, assuring him he would obtain something more advantageous as soon as the king's resentment should be blown over. The unhappy victim, trusting to these assurances, declined accepting the office which the king proposed; and Rochester expatiating on his refusal as a mark of insolence and disrespect to his majesty,

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an order was granted for committing him prisoner to the Tower, the lieutenancy of which had been lately bestowed upon Sir Gervase Elwaies, one of the favourite's creatures. The troublesome counsellor being thus removed and sequestred from all intercourse with his friends and acquaintance, the earl of Northampton, uncle to the countess, solicited the king in behalf of his niece, who demanded a divorce on account of her husband's impotence. James, pleased with an opportunity to oblige his favourite, granted a commission under the great seal to the bishops and judges, impowering them to hear and determine the affair. A jury of matrons was impannelled to inspect the countess, and they reported her a virgin. In consideration of her modesty, she obtained permission to appear before them in a veil, and is said to have substituted in her place a young woman of her own shape and stature. The earl of Essex being examined by the commissioners, declared that he had never performed the rites of matrimony; nor did he believe he should ever be able to converse with her as a wife, though he did not find the same difficulties with other women. The report of the matrons, corroborated by this confession, induced the judges to declare the marriage a nullity. Bilson bishop of Winchester having strenuously contended for this dissolution, his son was knighted by the interest of Rochester, and ever after distinguished in derision by the name of Sir Nullity Bilson. A. C. 1613.

In a few weeks after this decision, the favourite was created earl of Somerset, and his marriage with the countess solemnized in the most ostentatious manner. Nothing was now wanting to their triumph but the death of Overbury, without which that implacable woman could not be satisfied. They had already practised upon his life with slow poison, administred by one Weston, recommend- Death of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower.

A. C. 1613. ed by Mrs. Turner as a proper inſtrument for this purpoſe: he attended the priſoner as a domeſtic, and the poiſon was compounded by another miſcreant called Franklin, an apothecary. Overbury finding his health conſiderably impaired, and gueſſing the cauſe of his indiſpoſition, wrote a pathetic letter to Somerſet, imploring his mediation with the king, that he might be reſtored to liberty; and the earl aſſured him that in a few days he ſhould be releaſed from his confinement. The accomplices redoubled their efforts; but the effects of what they adminiſtred proving leſs violent than they expected, Weſton and Franklin are ſaid to have ſtifled him with the bed-cloaths. He was immediately interred, on pretence that the ſmell of the body was intolerably offenſive; and the earl of Northampton, in a letter to Somerſet, intimating his deceaſe, declared that he died of the venereal diſtemper, which had proceeded to ſuch a degree of inveteracy, that his whole body was covered with loathſome ulcers. Theſe, in fact, were the efforts of a vigorous conſtitution, to diſcharge the poiſon which this unfortunate gentleman had received.

Wilſon. Coke. Weldon.

A.C. 1614. The earl of Northampton is diſgraced.

Northampton was privy to every circumſtance of this barbarous aſſaſſination, and ſucceeded Overbury as the counſellor of Somerſet. He was a Roman catholic in his heart, and being warden of the Cinque-Ports, perſons of that religion were admitted into the kingdom without examination; ſo that England was in a little time filled with popiſh prieſts and jeſuits. The people began to murmur; and the earl of Northampton being accuſed as the cauſe of this grievance, proſecuted ſeveral perſons on the writ of Scandalum Magnatum. In the midſt of theſe proſecutions the archbiſhop produced a letter, written by the earl to cardinal Bellarmine, declaring himſelf a zealous catholic, wholly devoted to the ſee of Rome. The king reproached

ed him bitterly for this instance of his dissimulation, and he retired to his country-house, where, in a few weeks, he died a professed papist. The Roman catholics, however, did not sustain so many mortifications as were devised against the presbyterians, great numbers of whom quitted their native country, and settled in New-England, which soon became a flourishing colony; though they were not permitted to depart from Britain until they had given sufficient security for their good behaviour. A. C. 1614.

James was of such a profuse disposition, that no revenue could have been sufficient to exempt him from want and indigence *; therefore his minister's whole attention was employed in devising means for raising money without the sanction of parliament. He now had recourse to a scheme formed by the late earl of Salisbury; namely, the creation of baronets, a species of nobility between a baron and a knight, to descend as an hereditary title. One hundred were invested with this new dignity, by patents, obliging them to maintain a certain number of soldiers in Ireland: but this service was commuted for a sum of money. The king had recourse to other expedients for filling his empty coffers: he sold monopolies, revived the antient custom, by which every person possessing forty pounds a year in land, was obliged to receive the order of knighthood; and compounded with those who desired to be excused from an honour which they could not maintain. He created a certain Creation of baronets.

* Being one day in the gallery at Whitehall attended by Sir Henry Rich and James Maxwell, some porters happened to pass, loaded with money for the privy-purse. The king, perceiving Rich whispering to Maxwell, insisted upon knowing what he had said; and being told that he expressed a wish that he had so much money, he ordered the porters to carry the whole sum, amounting to three thousand pounds, to his lodgings, saying, he had more pleasure in giving, than the other could possibly have in receiving his bounty. Wilson.

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A.C. 1614. number of knights of Nova Scotia, who likewiſe purchaſed this diſtinction. The titles of earl, viſcount, and baron, were ſet to ſale at different prices, in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Thoſe who had defective titles, were obliged to pay for a confirmation, and the Star-chamber impoſed exceſſive fines for the uſe of his majeſty.

New parliament quickly diſſolved.

Even all theſe channels were unable to ſupply the waſte of the king's prodigality; ſo that the favourite and his father-in-law the earl of Suffolk perſuaded him to convoke a new parliament, with aſſurances that they would take care to return a majority of the commons, that ſhould be at his devotion. This promiſe, however, they were not able to perform. The parliament meeting on the firſt day of April, the king demanded an aid on account of his daughter's marriage, giving them to underſtand, that they ſhould be afterwards allowed to examine into the grievances of the nation. Inſtead of complying with his requeſt, they began by enquiring in what manner the crown revenues had been expended; and found that his majeſty had made exceſſive donations to his own countrymen, not only in money, but in lands, which they had ſold to the Engliſh, remitting the money to Scotland, an inſatiable gulph, from which it never returned. Then they examined into the cauſe of the ſurpriſing increaſe of popiſh recuſants, which they imputed, firſt, to the king's admitting popiſh lords into his council; and, ſecondly, to the negotiations which had been ſet on foot for the marriage of the king's ſons with the daughters of popiſh princes. They next deliberated upon the monopolies which were prejudicial to commerce; and the extraordinary means which had been uſed to raiſe money without the intervention of parliament: finally, they reſolved to preſent an addreſs, beſeech-

beſeeching his majeſty to redreſs theſe grievances; A. C. 1614.
and, in particular, to hinder his Scottiſh ſubjects from making any future ſettlements in England. James was ſo incenſed at their rough manner of proceeding, that he diſſolved the parliament before it had enacted one ſtatute; and ordered ſome of the members to be impriſoned, for having ſpoken too freely of him and his prerogative.

The parliament having proved ſo unpropitious, the court could deviſe no other feaſible ſcheme for relieving the king in his neceſſity, but that of a Benevolence, which was immediately put in execution. All the ſheriffs of the kingdom were ordered by an act of council to levy a ſum under this title, from the individuals of their different diſtricts; and to ſend up to court a liſt of thoſe who ſhould either refuſe to contribute, or beſtow a preſent inadequate to their circumſtances. Even this contrivance did not anſwer the king's expectation. It produced very little money, and a great deal of clamour. Yet the ſupply, inconſiderable as it was, came very ſeaſonably for the reception of the Daniſh monarch, who made a ſecond viſit to his ſiſter, and was entertained for fifteen days with an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of feaſting and diverſions. After his departure, an ambaſſador arrived from the czar of Muſcovy, to deſire the king's mediation in a quarrel between him and the king of Sweden.

King of Denmark arrives in England.

Coke. Wilſon.

Annals of James.

The earl of Somerſet poſſeſſed the king's affection ſo intirely, that the queen is ſaid to have become jealous of this favourite. Whether this was the real cauſe of her averſion, or ſhe ſuſpected him of having been concerned in the death of her eldeſt ſon prince Henry, ſhe certainly hated him with an uncommon degree of rancour, and reſolved if poſſible to effect his ruin. For this purpoſe ſhe intereſted in her reſentment Sir Ralph Winwood, who enjoyed the title of ſecretary of ſtate, though all

James captivated by George Villiers, whom he retains at court.

A. C. 1614. all the functions of the office were performed by the expreſs direction of Somerſet. The king, in his winter progreſs, paſſing through Cambridge, was entertained by the ſtudents with a comedy intitled Ignoramus, compoſed with a view to ridicule the common law and lawyers of England; a ſubject extremely agreeable to James, who deteſted all laws which the people had any hand in framing. The earls of Pembroke, Bedford, and ſome other noblemen, who were enemies to Somerſet, either preſuming upon the king's levity of diſpoſition, or perceiving ſome marks of abatement in his affection for that favourite, determined to diſplay a new lure for his fancy; and for this purpoſe pitched upon George Villiers, ſecond ſon of Sir Edward Villiers, a gentleman of Leiceſterſhire. George was juſt turned of twenty, and poſſeſſed of all thoſe exterior graces by which the weak mind of James was ſo liable to be captivated. He had lately returned from France, with all the perſonal accompliſhments which could be acquired in that country; and being gorgeouſly appareled for the purpoſe, was placed at the comedy, in ſuch a manner that he could not fail to attract the king's notice. James no ſooner beheld this gaudy figure, than he exhibited marks of admiration; and retained him in the court as one of his cup-bearers.

A. C. 1615.

The queen recommends him to his majeſty's favour.

Somerſet was too jealous of his influence to look upon this new comer with unconcern. By his office of chamberlain he exerciſed authority over all the cup-bearers, and ſubjected Villiers to continual mortifications. Nevertheleſs, that young competitor deprived him every day of a new ſhare of the king's favour. The enemies of Somerſet nurſed the king's growing inclination for Villiers with extravagant encomiums upon the beauty, virtue, and accompliſhments of this minion. Somerſet was like a miſtreſs in the wane of her charms: the

CAR Earl of SOMERSET.

the king was cloyed with poſſeſſion. He began to be diſguſted with the change in this nobleman's appearance and diſpoſition. Since his marriage he was become melancholy, and ſeemed to feel the poignant ſtings of conſcience: he neglected the ornaments of his perſon: his vivacity vaniſhed: he no longer mingled in the fooleries that were daily practiſed in the king's anti-chamber; and he began to exhibit marks of avarice, than which nothing was more deſpicable in the eyes of his ſovereign. James had declared, that he would have no favourite but ſuch as ſhould be recommended by the queen: that in caſe ſhe ſhould complain of him in the ſequel, he might have it in his power to ſay he had favoured him at her own expreſs deſire. Abbot archbiſhop of Canterbury beſought her to recommend Villiers; and at firſt ſhe flatly refuſed to comply with his requeſt, obſerving, that ſhould he be received on the footing of a favourite, the king would ſoon teach him to deſpiſe thoſe who recommended him, that he might be the more attached to his majeſty's own perſon: but, by dint of importunity, ſhe was at length prevailed upon to uſe her influence with the king in his behalf. James, charmed with her requeſt, immediately knighted Villiers, and appointed him one of the gentlemen of his chamber. A. C. 1615.

The court was immediately divided between the two favourites. Though the king ſtill affected to treat Somerſet with marks of particular conſideration, every body perceived a conſtraint in this complacency; and Villiers, by his affability, deprived his rival every day of ſome conſiderable adherent. Somerſet, perceiving his progreſs, thought it high time to ſcreen himſelf from the machinations of his enemies; and throwing himſelf at the king's feet, ſupplicated a general pardon, that his foes might not be able to take advantage of any error or offence The intereſt of Somerſet declines.

A. C. 1615. he might have committed during his adminiſtration, through frailty or ignorance. James, forthwith granted his requeſt, and ordering an ample pardon to be expedited, ſigned it with his own hand. But the chancellor refuſed to give it the ſanction of the great ſeal: alledging that it was a pardon not only for all the treaſons, felonies, and murders, which Somerſet might have already committed, but alſo for all thoſe of which he might be guilty in the ſequel. Another pardon couched in proper terms might have been eaſily drawn up; but whether the queen oppoſed it, or the earl of Somerſet thought it impolitic to give the world any further reaſon to believe he ſtood in need of ſuch an amneſty, no ſuch pardon was ever obtained.

He rejects the advances of Villiers.

Upon the king's return to Royſton from his ſummer progreſs, the train was laid for the deſtruction of this favourite. The apothecary's ſervant who had compounded a poiſonous clyſter for the unhappy Overbury, having retired to the Low-Countries, diſcovered this and other circumſtances to Trumbull the king's envoy at Bruſſels, who communicated this intelligence to Sir Ralph Winwood; and the king being made acquainted with the whole affair, commanded them both to keep it ſecret, until they ſhould receive further orders. In all probability he would have let it reſt in oblivion, had not Somerſet's indiſcretion compelled him to take other meaſures. The peace of his court was now every day invaded by the quarrels and diſputes of the two favourites and their dependents. He expreſſed a deſire that they ſhould live together in friendſhip. He ordered Villiers to ſollicit Somerſet's protection. The young knight accordingly viſited the earl at his own houſe, where he told him he was come to deſire that he might be admitted into the number of his humble ſervants, proteſting that he would ſerve him with the utmoſt fidelity,

fidelity, and depend upon him for his fortune and preferment. Somerset rejected all his advances, telling him he had no service for him; and that he would break his neck, should he ever find an opportunity of so doing. A. C. 1615.

The king was extremely incensed at this brutal reply, and from that moment destined Somerset to infamy and ruin. While he resided at Royston he sent a messenger to lord chief justice Coke, with a letter, desiring him to issue warrants for apprehending the earl of Somerset and his countess, Sir Gervase Elwaies lieutenant of the Tower, Mrs. Turner, Weston, and Franklin, the accomplices in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. When the officer came to serve the warrant upon the earl at Royston, he found him on the point of setting out for London: the king hung about his neck, asking, in the most affectionate tone, when he should see him again. Somerset being made acquainted with the purport of the warrant, exclaimed in a furious strain against the insolence of the officer who presumed to arrest a peer of the realm in the king's presence; but James being informed of the transaction, said, with a smile, "Nay, "nay, you must go; for if Coke should send for "me, I must comply." Then he accompanied him to the stair-case, embraced him at parting, begging he would return immediately, inasmuch as he could not live without his company. Yet he no sooner turned his back than he exclaimed, "Go, and the devil go with thee: I shall never "see thy face again." Somerset and his countess were committed to the Tower, and all the other accomplices to different prisons; and next day judge Coke repairing to Royston, the king commanded him to examine the affair with the utmost impartiality, wishing that the curse of God might fall upon him and his family should he spare the

Is committed prisoner to the Tower.

A. C. 1615. guilty; and imprecating the same malediction upon himself and his posterity, in case he should pardon any of those whom the law should condemn.

He and his countess receive sentence of death.

The instruments of this foul murder were accordingly tried, condemned, and executed. The earl and his countess being brought to trial in the following year, were likewise found guilty, and received sentence of death: but they were reprieved from time to time for several years, and at length pardoned; and the king favoured the earl with a grant of four thousand pounds in lands, in the name of one of his domestics. The passion of love, which had prompted this couple to act such an execrable tragedy, was soon converted to mutual disgust and implacable hatred. They lived together in the same house, without any personal communication, till the countess died of a loathsome distemper. The earl lived to see his daughter married to the earl of Bedford, by whom she had the lord Russel, who was beheaded in the reign of Charles II *.

Coke. Rushworth. Wilson. Weldon.

A. C. 1616. After the fall of Somerset, the favour of James was wholly concentrated upon the youthful Villiers, who shone forth in meridian lustre, and conciliated the affections of all the courtiers by his engaging

* If we may believe Sir Anthony Weldon, Coke discovered among Somerset's papers, some extraordinary particulars relating to the death of prince Henry; for he one day exclaimed upon the bench, "God knows what became of that "sweet babe prince Henry! but I know "somewhat---." The king is said to have been under a great trepidation when he understood that Somerset was refractory, and refused to appear at the bar: as if he had been master of some secrets which affected the character of his sovereign. The same anxiety he expressed with regard to Sir Thomas Monson, who was brought to his trial for being concerned in the murder, and remanded to the Tower, by the king's express order, before his examination was finished. His servant Symon, who had carried a poisoned tart to Sir Thomas Overbury, being brought into court, "So "Symon, said the chief justice, you have "had a hand in this poisoning business." "Only a finger, my lord (replied the culprit) and that cost me all "my nails and hair" He had tasted the syrup of the tart with his finger, and even that small quantity produced violent effects upon his constitution.

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Sr. *EDWARD COKE*, Lord Chief *JUSTICE*.

manners and insinuating address: but the first exertion of his influence was in filling all the places about court with his own creatures; so that the dependents of the old minister were dismissed of course. It was in the beginning of this ministry that lord chief justice Coke was divested of his office, on pretence of some trivial misdemeanours, though the real cause of his disgrace was his opposing the king, in bestowing a vacant bishopric in commendam. His place was filled by Montague; and the lord chancellor Ellesmere being seized with a dangerous illness, resigned the seals into the hands of his majesty. He kept them till the death of Ellesmere; and then they were given to Bacon, who was afterwards promoted to the dignity of chancellor. He was an able lawyer, and an excellent philosopher; but abject, irresolute, and of an unguarded disposition, which was practised upon to the prejudice of his character. In the course of this year, the king's only surviving son Charles was created prince of Wales; and the king vehemently wished to see him married: but as no protestant king had a marriageable daughter, and James thought he should degrade his dignity in matching him with a lady of inferior rank, he turned his eyes upon two catholic princesses; namely, Anne of Austria, who married Lewis XIII. of France, and the infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III. king of Spain. A. C. 1616.

Charles created prince of Wales.

The marriage of the French monarch was already determined; so that his whole attention was diverted into other channels. He sent the lord Hay ambassador to France, and the lord Ross into Spain, with compliments of congratulation to the two monarchs, upon the nuptials of Lewis and Anne; and they were instructed to sound the inclinations of the two kings touching the marriage of the prince of Wales with the eldest sister of

James proposes a match between his son and the infanta of Spain.

A. C. 1616. Lewis, or with the infanta Maria. The French lady was already betrothed to the prince of Piedmont: but the other ſcheme afforded a more agreeable proſpect of ſucceſs. The duke of Lerma, Philip's prime miniſter, had already made an overture concerning the match, to Digby the Engliſh envoy at Madrid; and the count de Gondemar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at London, was empowered to treat with the king on this ſubject. This was ſuppoſed to be a ſtratagem of the court of Spain, to interrupt the good underſtanding that ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and Dutch; and Charleton, the king's ambaſſador at the Hague, gave his maſter to underſtand, that the Spaniards had for this purpoſe circulated a report that the negotiation for the marriage was far advanced. In effect, Philip's aim was to amuſe James with this treaty, in ſuch a manner that he ſhould not join againſt him in the war of Cleves; but, in the ſequel, he was influenced by a more important motive. The vanity of the Engliſh monarch was ſo agreeably flattered with the proſpect of this alliance, that he could not help manifeſting the utmoſt eagerneſs to ſee it brought to perfection; and Gondemar, who was perfectly well acquainted with his diſpoſition, managed this deſire to ſuch advantage, that for ſeveral years James acted in every thing according to his direction, rather than run the riſque of ſeeing the match fruſtrated, by giving offence to the court of Spain.

His impolitic conduct and profuſion.

Such were the politics of that prince, who was denominated the Solomon of the age. He ſaw without emotion the efforts of the court of France in ſuppreſſing the proteſtants of that kingdom: he beheld with unconcern the houſe of Auſtria forming projects for enſlaving all Europe; and, on pretence of indulging his people with the bleſſings of peace, he neglected every political concern of the nation.

nation. Nor did his conduct at home redound more to the credit of his discretion. He squandered away immense sums, and alienated almost all the crown-lands, to enrich a few worthless favourites. The earl of Somerset had, in five years, amassed two hundred thousand pounds in money, jewels, and plate; besides eighteen thousand pounds a year in landed estate. The earl of Salisbury, though a younger brother, had left a large fortune. Northampton had built an expensive palace in London, since known by the name of Northumberland-house; and bequeathed a great inheritance to his nephew the earl of Arundel. Suffolk, another brother of the duke of Norfolk, had expended two hundred thousand pounds in an edifice called Audley-Inn in the county of Hertford. The duke of Lennox, the earl of Dunbar, and the lord Hay, had remitted vast sums into Scotland; and Sir Henry Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, accumulated an immense estate. A. C. 1616. Wilson. Coke.

All the sources of this profusion were now dried up, and the king was bent upon enriching his new favourite. The states of Holland knowing his situation, and afraid of their cautionary towns, which he might be prevailed upon to deliver into the hands of Spain, in order to promote his son's marriage, seized this opportunity to re-obtain possession of those places; and, at the same time, compound for the debt which they owed to the crown of England. They began by abating their punctuality in paying the English garrisons; and these complained to the king, who was in no condition to provide for their subsistence. When he sent remonstrances to the states on this subject, they expatiated upon the bad situation of their affairs, occasioned by the vast expences of the war. Caron, their envoy in England, insinuated to the ministry, that if the king would consent to restore the cautionary He delivers up the cautionary towns to the Dutch.

A. C. 1616. tionary towns, he believed the ſtates would endeavour to raiſe money by borrowing at high intereſt, in order to ſatisfy him with reſpect to the debt they owed. This was a temptation which James and his courtiers could not withſtand. He forthwith wrote to the ſtates on this ſubject; the penſionary Barnevelt was ſent over to manage the negotiation at the court of London, where he acted his part with ſuch dexterity, that James accepted of one third of the ſum which was due; and delivered up the cautionary towns which had been pledged to queen Elizabeth.

The earl of Suffolk is diſgraced.

This money no ſooner appeared than it vaniſhed in an unaccountable manner. The king paid no creditor; the fleet was ruined for want of repair; and not one farthing was ſent to the troops in Ireland, which for ſeveral years had received no regular ſubſiſtence. The earl of Suffolk lord-treaſurer had embezzled a conſiderable part of the ſupply; and Villiers the new favourite would not let ſlip this opportunity of ruining the father-in-law of Somerſet. He was accuſed in the Star-chamber of divers malverſations, in the exerciſe of his office; and being found guilty, condemned to pay a fine of thirty thouſand pounds, and to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure. The office of treaſurer was put in commiſſion; and ſecretary Winwood dying about the ſame time, his place was divided between Naunton aud Calvert, the firſt of whom was a proteſtant, and the other a papiſt. Villiers was by this time created viſcount of Waddon, and earl of Buckingham: he was afterwards raiſed to the titles of marquis and duke of Buckingham, inſtalled knight of the garter, appointed maſter of the horſe, chief juſtice in eyre, warden of the Cinque-ports, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and lord high-admiral of England. In the beginning of the ſucceeding year, Marc Antonio

tonio de Dominis, archbiſhop of Spalato in Dalmatia, arrived in England as a convert to the proteſtant religion. He preached and wrote againſt the doctrines of the Roman church; and was appointed dean of Windſor, and maſter of the Savoy. After having reſided ſome years in England, he was ſeduced by count Gondemar, with the promiſe of a cardinal's hat, to go and make a public recantation at Rome. He accordingly went to Rome, and abjured the proteſtant religion; but, inſtead of being promoted, he was confined in a dungeon of the inquiſition, where he died; and his body was burned in public. A. C. 1617. Wilſon.

James, from his acceſſion to the throne of England, had formed the ſcheme of reducing the Scottiſh clergy to a conformity with the Engliſh church. He had ſent the following articles to be inſerted in their canons: That they ſhould receive the communion kneeling: That the ſacrament ſhould be adminiſtered in private to ſick perſons: That they ſhould keep the feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, Aſcenſion, and Whitſuntide: and, That children of a certain age ſhould be confirmed by the biſhops. Theſe articles being rejected by the general aſſembly, as the preliminaries of more important alterations, the king was incenſed at their obſtinacy; and reſolved to viſit his Scottiſh dominions, that he might in perſon compel them to obedience. The Scottiſh biſhops retained nothing but the name of that dignity; for the whole eccleſiaſtical power was lodged in the general aſſembly of the miniſters. James was bent upon reſtoring epiſcopacy to its former luſtre and authority; but he did not conſider that the revenues which had maintained that ſplendor aroſe from eſtates which were now poſſeſſed by lay noblemen, who would not eaſily part with their acquiſitions. Beſides, the people in general were puritanical, and

The king viſits his antient kingdom of Scotland.

A. C. 1617. and the ſpirit of fanaticiſm prevailed over the whole nation. The king, before his departure from London, iſſued a proclamation, importing his deſign of viſiting his antient kingdom, that he might reform certain abuſes which had crept into the church and ſtate of that country. Then he ſent ſome officers of his houſhold to Edinburgh, directing them to adorn his chapel with pictures and ſtatues, which gave great offence to his Scottiſh ſubjects.

Is thwarted by the preſbyterian clergy of that country.

He himſelf opened the parliament of Scotland with a long harangue, in which he recommended the eſtabliſhment of regular civil polity, the abolition of all barbarous cuſtoms, promiſed to protect the innocent, and threatened to puniſh the guilty. He deſired they would appoint commiſſioners to regulate the affairs of religion; and the parliament aſſenting to his propoſal, he himſelf nominated them from the number of his own creatures. He inſiſted upon their eſtabliſhing the following article, That every thing ordained by the king and his biſhops, touching the exterior government of the church, ſhould have the force of an eccleſiaſtical law, to which every perſon ſhould ſubmit. The miniſters immediately took the alarm, proteſting againſt this article; and the whole nation was in a ferment. James, diſconcerted by this oppoſition, deſired the clergy would attend him at St. Andrew's, where he told them he was determined to be obeyed; and they, intimidated by his menaces, beſought him to convoke a general aſſembly, that his propoſals might be unanimouſly accepted. With great reluctance he conſented to this expedient. In the mean time, Simpſon, who had drawn up and ſigned the proteſt, was impriſoned; and Catherwood, who had diſperſed copies of it, was baniſhed the kingdom. After James had ſet out on his return to England, the general

general assembly meeting at St. Andrew's resolved to delay their acception of the four articles, until all the churches of the kingdom could be informed of the affair; and then the session broke up. The king, exasperated at this contempt of his authority, ordered all their stipends to be arrested; but, finding this measure served only to irritate the minds of his Scottish subjects, he allowed them to hold another assembly at Perth, where they were at length prevailed upon to receive his four articles; though this imposition sowed the seeds of those troubles which afterwards ruined his son and successor. A. C. 1617. Spottiswood.

During the king's journey from Scotland to London, he was presented with a petition by a great number of peasants, tradesmen, and servants, requesting, that they might as usual be allowed to take their diversions on Sundays, after divine service. James being persuaded, that those were puritans who forbade such diversions; and that they were Jewishly inclined, because they affected to call Sunday the Sabbath, resolved to re-establish the vulgar in the privileges which they had lost. He published a performance, intitled, The book of Sports, recommending all diverting exercises after sermon. He ordered it to be read publicly in all churches; and such ministers as refused to obey this injunction, were severely punished by the court of high commission. Whatever his motives might have been for enforcing this practice, it was not a bad preservative against the desperate effects of gloomy fanaticism, which had already taken full possession of one kingdom, and made considerable progress in the other. He publishes the book of Sports.

This year was rendered remarkable for the last expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, which produced loud murmurs against the government. Though he was odious to the nation when the king committed him to the Tower, the hatred of the people Expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh,

A. C. 1617. ple was softened by his long confinement; and their admiration excited by the surprising vigour of his faculties, manifested in his history of the world, which had been lately published; a work composed in prison, where he laboured under every species of distress that could dispirit or disconcert the human mind. At length he was released, tho' without a pardon; and his estate having been forfeited, he formed a scheme for acquiring a new fortune in America. He gave the king to understand, that he had, in the course of his former expeditions, found a rich gold mine in Guiana, which was uninhabited by any European nation; and he obtained a commission, impowering him to make a settlement on the place. Several wealthy adventurers engaged in this project, for the purposes of which twelve vessels were equipped; and he took his departure from England in the month of August. When he arrived at the mouth of the river Oroonoko, he detached five vessels, under the command of his son, and captain Keymis, to sail up the stream in quest of the mine; and they making a descent near a small town called St. Thomas, lately built by the Spaniards, met with some opposition; in spite of which, they took and plundered the place, though young Raleigh was killed in the action. No mine, however, could they find, nor the least appearance of ore. Raleigh, chagrined at the loss of his son, and their failure in search of the gold, which alone could reconcile the king to the hostilities they had committed against the Spaniards, is said to have threatened Keymis with his majesty's indignation, for having first deceived Raleigh in his description of the mine, and afterwards attacked the Spaniards without his order. Keymis, in order to avoid public punishment and disgrace, made away with himself. A grievous mortality prevailed among the people: the

the sailors loudly exclaimed, that they had been sacrificed to a chimerical project, and compelled Raleigh to set sail for England. He was obliged by contrary winds to put in at Kinsale in Ireland, where he endeavoured to persuade them to follow his fortunes in France; but, they were deaf to all his arguments and intreaties; he then directed his course to Plymouth, where he was immediately arrested by the king's order, and, after having made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, reconveyed to the Tower of London. A. C. 1617.

In his absence the count de Gondemar made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared, that Raleigh had express orders to avoid all dispute and hostilities with the Spaniards. The ambassador, therefore, demanded that he should be punished; otherwise the negotiation for the prince's marriage would miscarry. James was not only intimidated by this declaration, but also incensed against Raleigh, who had returned without the treasure, even after having embroiled him with the court of Spain. He believed the scheme was an imposition from the beginning; and that Raleigh's real design was to plunder the Spanish settlements, never doubting that he should be able to persuade the sailors into these measures. The king, on these considerations, resolved that his former sentence should be executed. The case was argued in the court of King's-bench, where Raleigh pleaded his commission, which he said implied a pardon, inasmuch as it invested him with the power of life and death over those whom he commanded. The lord chief justice replied, that treason could not be pardoned except in express terms; and ordered him to be executed next morning, when he was accordingly beheaded on a scaffold erected on the Old-palace-yard at Westminster. He had formerly practised low shifts, and even

who is beheaded.

Coke. Wilson.

A. C. 1617. even feigned madneſs, to ſave his life. But now he collected all his fortitude, and died with uncommon courage and compoſure. He was certainly a man of admirable talents; but turbulent, raſh, and preſumptuous. He had maintained a literary correſpondence with prince Henry, who admired his character; and, at the queen's requeſt, ſent ſome of the cordial known by his name, to her ſon in his laſt illneſs, affirming, that it was an infallible cure for fevers, except where poiſon had been adminiſtered. This ridiculous aſſeveration made ſuch an impreſſion upon her mind, that when the prince died, ſhe could not help believing ſome ſiniſter means had been practiſed againſt his life. Raleigh had formerly done great miſchief to the Spaniards in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and, in divers memorials ſince his confinement, diſſuaded James from any alliance with that people. No wonder then that Gondemar ſhould exert all his influence for the deſtruction of ſuch an enemy to his nation. On the whole, it muſt be owned, that Raleigh ſeems to have undertaken his laſt voyage with a piratical intention; and that he was capable of impoſture, appears from his treatiſe, intitled, The diſcovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana: an empire which never exiſted but in his own fancy and deſcription.

A. C. 1618. Mutual diſguſt between the king and his people.

The people were loud in their clamours at the death of this gallant captain. Indeed, by this time, the king was become the object of univerſal contempt. The nation complained, that the adminiſtration was in the hands of a ſtripling, who had not only engroſſed unmerited honours for himſelf, but promoted his numerous kindred to the moſt profitable places in the kingdom; tho' many of them were papiſts, and his own mother openly profeſſed the catholic religion. They obſerved, That the ſtates of Holland had ſent a fleet of fiſhermen

men on the coaſt of Britain, without aſking the king's permiſſion; but, on the contrary, had ſupplied them with a ſquadron for their defence, as if they meant to brave the nation: That the court was become a ſcene of debauchery, where nothing was heard but curſes, blaſphemy, and impure diſcourſe. That the number of papiſts were ſurpriſingly increaſed: That the king's eagerneſs for the marriage of his ſon with a daughter of Spain too plainly denoted his bias towards the Roman catholic church: That the prerogative of the crown was extended to the oppreſſion of the people in the deciſions of the high commiſſion-court and Star-chamber; in granting monopolies prejudicial to commerce; impriſoning members of the houſe of commons contrary to law; and in levying money without conſent of parliament. On the other hand, the king was no leſs diſſatisfied with his people for pretending to cenſure his government; and he conceived a remarkable antipathy to parliaments, which he conſidered as an inſolent check upon the kingly prerogative. He conſoled himſelf, however, for the cenſures of his ſubjects, with the agreeable proſpect of the match, and the promiſe of receiving a very large ſum as the infanta's portion. A. C. 1618.

The negotiation had already been ſpun out for two years by the Spaniſh miniſtry, on pretence of regulating the affair of religion; but now the court of Madrid, fearing that James would begin to doubt their good faith, agreed with Digby and Cottington, the two Engliſh ambaſſadors, to five articles, the firſt of which imported, That the pope's diſpenſation ſhould be obtained by the ſole ſolicitation of his moſt catholic majeſty. The reſt related to the education of the children of the marriage, and the regulation of the infanta's chapel. Theſe were approved and ſigned by James: but ſtill James is amuſed by the king of Spain.

A. C. 1618. ſtill he was at a great diſtance from the accompliſhment of his wiſh. The ſucceſſion of Cleves, which was the firſt motive of Philip's diſſimulation, was now ſettled; but the affairs of Germany took ſuch a turn as was likely to produce a war of religion; and therefore the houſe of Auſtria continued to amuſe James with the marriage, leſt he ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of the proteſtants in Bohemia.

The ſtates of Bohemia rebel againſt the emperor.

The emperor Matthias having adopted his nephew Ferdinand of Auſtria, reſolved to raiſe him to the throne of Bohemia. But as he expected oppoſition from the proteſtant incorporated countries of Sileſia, Moravia, and Luſatia, he forbore ſummoning their deputies, when he convoked the ſtates of Bohemia; and Ferdinand was crowned at Prague by the catholic intereſt. The ſtates including the proteſtant deputies, were afterwards convoked by the defenders, a certain number of perſons choſen and appointed to enforce the execution of edicts; and this aſſembly having preſented a petition to the emperor, demanding the execution of the laws of the kingdom, and a reparation for the injuries they had ſuſtained, adjourned itſelf to another day. The emperor, inſtead of anſwering their petition, ordered his lieutenant in Bohemia to prevent the next meeting of the ſtates, which had been convoked without his permiſſion: but the deputies, inſtead of obeying his command, repaired to the chancery, threw three of the emperor's officers out of the window, and expelled the jeſuits from the city. Then they publiſhed an apology for their conduct; and engaged in an aſſociation for their mutual defence. Upon advice of the emperor's preparing to attack them, they choſe four and twenty protectors, whom they impowered to levy troops, and impoſe taxes for the maintenance of the war. The cardinal infant prepared an army in the Low-Countries for the ſervice

of

of the emperor, who beſtowed the command of it upon Charles de Bucquoy count de Longueville, while the ſtates pitched upon the counts de Manſfeldt and De la Tour for their generals. On this eve of a bloody war, no wonder that the king of Spain was intereſted in behalf of the younger branch of the houſe of Auſtria, and uſed all his artifice in diſſuading the king of England from declaring in favour of the German proteſtants. Count Gondemar ſet out for Spain, with the articles ſigned by James; and, though he loitered ſo much time in his voyage, as plainly demonſtrated, that his deſign was to protract the negotiation, the king ſtill continued to believe in his ſincerity.

A. C. 1618.

Hiſt. de la Rebellion de Boheme.

In the month of March the queen died, in the forty-ſixth year of her age; and James himſelf was ſeized with a dangerous malady that brought him to the brink of the grave. The emperor Matthias dying about the ſame time, his nephew Ferdinand cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of Bohemia; but as he had no occaſion for the intereſt of the proteſtant electors to raiſe him to the imperial throne, he expreſſed a deſire of terminating the war which had already begun, by offering ſatisfaction to the ſtates of Bohemia, with regard to their privileges. James, who piqued himſelf upon the title of the Pacific king, ſent the lord Hay, lately created viſcount Doncaſter, to mediate a pacification in the empire: but Ferdinand would ſcarce favour him with an audience; and the embaſſy produced no effect. The elector of Mentz ſummoning Ferdinand as king of Bohemia, to the election of an emperor, the ſtates of that kingdom proteſted againſt the citation, as Ferdinand was not in poſſeſſion of the throne. But, notwithſtanding their oppoſition, he was acknowledged king of Bohemia at the diet; and elected emperor in the month of Auguſt. Then

A. C. 1619. The Bohemians chuſe Frederick elector palatine their king.

A. C. 1619. the ſtates took an oath that they would never own him as their ſovereign; and choſe Frederick elector palatine their king. That prince accepted their offer without heſitation; diſpatched the baron D'Aulna to ſolicit the advice of his father-in-law the king of England. But this was no more than a ſimple compliment; for, without waiting his anſwer, he aſſembled a body of troops; and repairing to Prague, was there crowned on the fourth day of November.

James diſavows the conduct of his ſon-in-law.

Before the arrival of Frederick's envoy, James hearing of his election, aſſembled his council to deliberate upon the ſubject; and they were of opinion, that the king ſhould exhort his ſon-in-law to refuſe the crown of Bohemia. They were influenced by the ſentiments of the king, who conſidered the conduct of the ſtates as rebellious and puritanical; and dreaded that Frederick's oppoſition to the houſe of Auſtria might prejudice the darling match of his ſon, and the projected alliance between the kings of England and Spain. James was ſo incenſed againſt the elector, when he heard he had accepted the crown, that he refuſed to grant an audience to his envoy: by his ambaſſadors in foreign courts, he diſavowed the ſtep which his ſon-in-law had taken, and even refuſed to honour him with the kingly title. He attempted to perſuade him to renounce the crown, and influence the ſtates of Bohemia to acknowledge Ferdinand. With this view he ſent two ambaſſadors to Prague; but his admonitions were of no ſignification. Mean while the court of Madrid did not fail to encourage James in his pacific diſpoſition. There the whole converſation turned upon the juſtice, generoſity, and moderation of the Engliſh monarch. The negotiation for the marriage, which had been interrupted on account of the pope's heſitating to grant

grant a dispensation, was now resumed; and Cottington was given to understand, that should it be much longer delayed, they would either conclude the marriage without it, or fall upon means to extort the pope's compliance. That minister did not fall into the snare. Being well acquainted with the views and sentiments of Philip, he exhorted his majesty to break off the negotiation, assuring him the design of the court of Spain was to amuse him with vain pretences. James was of another opinion: he ordered Cottington to declare to the king of Spain, that he had no share in the affair of Bohemia; that the elector had acted without his knowledge; and that he disapproved of his conduct in accepting the crown. A. C. 1619.

While Ferdinand and Frederick were employed in forming alliances, and making preparations for war, James adhered to a neutrality, not without hope of being chosen arbitrator of the difference; but, both parties suspected him of partiality, and resolved to decide the quarrel by force of arms. Frederick's affairs at first wore a promising aspect. Several princes of Germany engaged in a league for his support; Bethlem Gabor prince of Transylvania excited the Hungarians to revolt against Ferdinand; and the greatest part of Austria had followed their example. The elector of Saxony had embraced a neutrality; but the emperor gained him over by ceding to him the conquest of Upper Lusatia. The duke of Bavaria, and the three ecclesiastic electors declared for Ferdinand; the pope supplied him with a sum of money, and the king of Spain sent to his assistance those troops which were in Naples and the dutchy of Milan. Gondemar was sent back to London, on pretence of putting the last hand to the marriage, though, in reality, to maintain the delusion. That artful minister, by means of his insinuating manners, and a A. C. 1620. Great influence of Gondemar at the English court. Annals of K. James I.

A. C. 1620. large sum of money judiciously distributed, soon gained the ascendency over the king, the favourite, and the ministers; so that, in effect, he governed the whole kingdom.

A small body of English troops engage in the service of the elector Palatine.

Frederick having marched into Bohemia with ten thousand of the Palatine troops, the archduke Albert levied an army of thirty thousand men in the Low-Countries, in order to attack the Palatinate. The Dutch communicated the design of this armament to the court of London; but James, instead of taking effectual methods for the preservation of his daughter and her family, contented himself with ordering Edmonds his ambassador at Brussels, to demand the meaning of these levies. The archduke replied, that the troops were raised by the express order of the Spanish king; and that perhaps he might learn their destination from Spinola, who was appointed general of the expedition. This officer being interrogated on the same subject, pretended ignorance, alledging his orders were sealed, and that he could not open them until the troops should be upon the march; but, he told the ambassador that if he would accompany him in his route, he might soon be informed. The design was so palpable, that the people of England began to exclaim against the king's indolence and insensibility. Nevertheless, he still persisted in his scheme of neutrality; and the nation was certainly obliged to him for preventing their being involved in a war, which would have not only consumed their treasures, but also deprived them of an advantageous commerce with the Spaniards both in Europe and America. His forbearance, however, was owing to other reflections. By dint of solicitations, he was prevailed upon to allow one regiment of two thousand four hundred men, to be raised for the service of the elector Palatine. It was commanded by Horatio Vere, who had served with reputation

putation in Holland; and the earls of Oxford and Eſſex acted as captains to two companies of volunteers. They were tranſported to Holland, paſſed the Rhine below the Wezel, were eſcorted to Franckfort by a body of troops under prince Frederick Henry of Naſſau; and on the firſt day of October, joined the army of the Palatine's allies, conducted by the margrave of Anſpach. A. C. 1620. Wilſon.

By this time Spinola had reached the Palatinate, where he made himſelf maſter of ſome inconſiderable places; but, the ſeaſon being far advanced, both armies ſoon retired into winter-quarters. In the beginning of this year, the French king had ſent the dukes of Angouleſme and Bethune, with Mr. Deſpreaux to the princes of Germany, to aſſiſt in appeaſing the troubles of Hungary and Bohemia. James of England had likewiſe diſpatched Sir Edward Wotton to Germany, with the ſame deſign; and after he had viſited the princes ſeparately, he arrived at Vienna, where he preſented ſome propoſals, in the name of his maſter, to which Ferdinand payed no regard. Frederick elector Palatine was now put under the ban of the empire. The elector of Saxony entered Luſace, which he ſubdued. The duke of Bavaria joining the count de Bucquoy the imperial general in Bohemia, they advanced atowrds Prague, in the neighbourhood of which the Palatine was poſted. A battle immediately enſued; and Frederick being totally defeated, fled with his wife and family to Holland. The inhabitants of Prague opened their gates to the Imperialiſts. The Palatine was abandoned by almoſt all his allies. Even his general the prince of Anhalt, engaged in the emperor's ſervice; tho' count Mansfeldt ſtill preſerved his fidelity. In the courſe of this year, the proteſtants of France being oppreſſed by Lewis XIII. James ſent Edward Herbert to intercede with him in their favour, and Who is totally defeated.

A.C. 1620. even to employ menaces, ſhould no regard be payed to his remonſtrance. The ambaſſador executed his commiſſion in ſuch a manner as gave offence to the conſtable de Luines, who complained of his arrogance to the king, and he was recalled. He afterwards begged his majeſty's permiſſion to challenge the conſtable to ſingle combat for having belied him; but James refuſed his requeſt, and ſent in his room the viſcount of Doncaſter, lately created earl of Carliſle, who expended great ſums of money to very little purpoſe; for the Huguenots reaped no benefit from his ſolicitations.

James convokes a parliament.

The campaign of the Palatinate was no ſooner ended, than the earl of Eſſex returned to England, and aſſured the king, that, without powerful and ſpeedy ſuccours, that country would fall into the hands of the enemy. Whether James was alarmed at this intelligence, or deſirous of uſing this pretext for raiſing money, he declared to count Gondemar, that he would not ſtand tamely, and ſee his grandchildren deprived of their inheritance; and demanded a benevolence of his ſubjects for the defence of the Palatinate. This expedient did not ſucceed according to his expectation; and the people continuing to blame his indolence and indifference for the proteſtant intereſt, he convoked a parliament. With a view to perſuade the nation that he was determined to purſue vigorous meaſures, he convened a number of noblemen and officers of reputation, to deliberate upon the moſt effectual means to proſecute the war; and, in order to prevent the reproaches and obloquy of his ſubjects, he iſſued a proclamation, forbidding them to diſcourſe of ſtate affairs.

Rushworth.

Proſecution of Sir Giles Montpeſſon and Francis Michel.

James, without all queſtion, wiſhed to preſerve the Palatinate to his ſon-in-law; but his weakneſs was cajoled in ſuch a manner by Gondemar, that he believed no expedient would be ſo effectual for

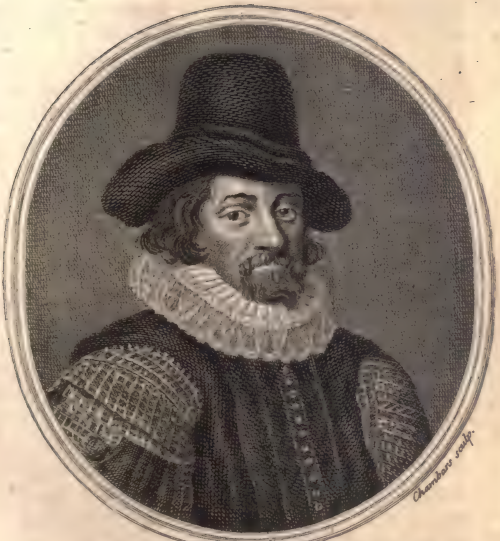
that purpose, as the match of his son with the infanta of Spain; and that this scheme would miscarry should he attempt to take any other step in the elector's favour: besides, his aversion to war was insuperable. He resolved, however, to seem bent on vigorous measures, in hope that he should receive ample subsidies from the parliament, which met on the twentieth day of January. The king, as usual, made a long speech to both houses, explaining the duty of parliaments; expatiating on his own merit and necessities; and demanding supplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in defence of which, he declared he would hazard his crown, and even the life of his own son, should he miscarry in his endeavours to procure a reasonable pacification. The house of commons considering the urgency of the occasion, and being extremely incensed against the house of Austria, immediately granted two subsidies, with which the king was satisfied for the present. This affair being discussed, the commons received petitions against the increase of popish recusants, monopolies, and projectors. The king had farmed to certain individuals the power of licensing taverns and public houses; and granted to Sir Giles Montpesson and Francis Michel an exclusive patent for the sale of gold and silver lace. By virtue of this privilege, they had been guilty of such scandalous fraud and oppression, that, upon complaint to the upper-house, they were committed to prison; though Montpesson, who was Buckingham's creature, found means to escape: but he was degraded from the dignity of knight, and his estate confiscated. The other was sentenced to do public penance in the street, sitting a-horseback with his face to the tail, to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, and be imprisoned for life. A. C. 1620. A. C. 1621.

A. C. 1621. James perceiving with what eagerneſs the two houſes proceeded againſt theſe delinquents, began to be afraid of his favourite Buckingham, who had been the author of thoſe monopolies. He therefore went to the houſe of peers, and ſoothed the parliament with the moſt affectionate expreſſions; aſſuring them, upon the faith of a chriſtian king, that if he had known of thoſe grievances, he would have puniſhed the authors of his own accord; and cautioning them againſt giving ear to thoſe who ſhould accuſe the innocent inſtead of the guilty. They underſtood his meaning, and forbore to trace the enormity to its fountain. James afterwards underſtanding that the commons had impeached chancellor Bacon, lately created baron of Verulam and viſcount of St. Alban's, he again harangued both houſes, repreſenting the neceſſity of puniſhing corrupted judges; and ſoliciting further ſubſidies, as the former ſupply granted by the commons was already expended for the ſubſiſtence of the Palatine and his family, who had taken refuge in Holland. He obſerved, that great ſums would be requiſite to defray the expence of extraordinary ambaſſadors to all the courts of Europe, as well as for an army to march into the Palatinate, in caſe his negotiations ſhould prove ineffectual; and, laſtly, he proteſted before God, that he would not diſſolve the parliament, until the affairs which were then under their conſideration ſhould be fully determined.

The king endeavours to cajole the commons.

Lord chancellor Bacon diſgraced.

The chancellor being committed to the Tower, and conſcious of that corruption which was laid to his charge, preſented a petition to the houſe of peers, confeſſing himſelf guilty, and requeſting that he might not be expoſed to the ſhame of a public trial. They inſiſted upon his owning every particular article of the impeachment; yet, notwithſtanding this minute confeſſion, he was deprived of his




*BACON* Lord *VERULAM.*

his office of chancellor, and even rendered incapable of sitting in the upper-house of parliament, fined forty thousand pounds, and condemned to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure. In consideration of his great genius, James remitted his fine, released him from prison, and favoured him with a very considerable pension, which enabled him to oblige the world with many literary productions of extraordinary merit. He retrieved the favour of his sovereign, by writing the panegyric of Henry VII. whose character James revered as the model of sagacity and king-craft, and whose conduct he endeavoured in vain to imitate. It was in this parliament that the two factions, known by the name of court and country party, began to proceed on a regular plan of opposition. The individuals of each stood up alternately to answer one another in both houses; and even the exercise of the prerogative was disputed with great freedom of altercation *. A. C. 1621. Wilson. Rushworth. Weldon.

The King perceiving that the commons would not grant another supply, until they should see whether or not he really intended to engage in a war, sent the treasurer to adjourn the parliament to the fourteenth day of November. The lower house looking upon this step as an encroachment on their privileges, desired a conference with the peers, that they might concert an address on the subject. James giving them to understand, that he would not suffer his prerogative to be the subject of dispute, the lords refused their concurrence; and the Dispute between the king and house of commons.

* The lord Spenser talking freely of the government, thought proper to illustrate his arguments with examples from history. The earl of Arundel interrupting him, said, "When those "things happened my lord, your an- "cestors were keeping sheep." "And "yours (replied Spenser) were hatching "treason." They were immediately ordered to retire; and, notwithstanding the court interest, the earl of Arundel, as the aggressor, was sent to the Tower, from whence he was not released until he had submitted to the orders of the house. Wilson.

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A. C. 1621. commons proteſted that the king's reſolution hindered them from finiſhing the work they had begun, for the benefit of the public. The king repairing to the houſe of peers, told them he would indulge them with a delay of ten days; and they, after a conference with the commons, demanded it for fifteen. He granted their requeſt; but ſtill inſiſted upon his right to diſſolve, prorogue, and adjourn the parliament. The commons deſiſted from their pretenſions; but, on the day of adjournment, drew up a declaration, importing, That they could not help intereſting themſelves in the invaſion of the Palatinate, and the danger with which the proteſtant religion was threatened; and that they were ready to ſupport the king with their whole power, in doing himſelf juſtice by force of arms, provided his negotiations ſhould not meet with ſucceſs.

Ruſhworth.

Death of Philip III. of Spain.

By this time, Bohemia, Moravia, and Sileſia, had ſubmitted to the emperor: the upper Palatinate was ſubdued by the duke of Bavaria. Spinola, after having made many conqueſts in the lower Palatinate, conſented to a truce for five weeks; and the archduke aſcribed this condeſcenſion to his regard for the king of England; though, in fact, he was obliged to recal his troops to the Low-Countries, becauſe the truce of twelve years between Spain and Holland was expired; and he was glad of this ceſſation, during which the emperor might fill the place of thoſe forces. This ſhort truce being expired, the Spaniſh troops left under the command of Don Conſalez de Cordova, being joined by a ſtrong reinforcement, undertook the ſiege of Frankendahl, defended by ſome of the Engliſh forces under Vere; but he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege at the approach of Mansfeldt, who, in his turn, retired before count Tilly into Alſace. In the courſe of this year Philip III. of Spain dying,

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was succeeded by his son of the same name. Lewis XIII. of France having distressed the Huguenots, undertook the siege of Montauban; but the valour and obstinacy of the defendants obliged him to relinquish the enterprize. A. C. 1621.

The archduke, in order to divert James from any design of assisting the Dutch, now that hostilities were renewed between them and Spain, gave him to understand, that peace might be easily re-established in the empire, provided the palatine would offer a reasonable satisfaction to the emperor. He wrote in favour of Frederick to Ferdinand; and the letter was communicated to James, who firmly believed that, in consideration of him, the difference would be amicably determined. To this letter the emperor replied, That, by his great regard for the king of England, he was disposed to conclude a peace upon equitable terms with the palatine. The king of Spain declared to Ferdinand, that should he, according to report, bestow the upper Palatinate upon the duke of Bavaria, he must no longer expect the assistance of Spain. All these letters were imparted to James, or to his ambassadors, and served to confirm his opinion, that any appearance of distrust would ruin all his measures. In these sentiments he dispatched the lord Digby as his ambassador to Vienna, to demand of the emperor, that the imperial ban against the elector palatine should be revoked, or at least suspended; and that Frederick should be re-established in possession of his hereditary dominions; in which case the king would oblige him to make suitable satisfaction. Ferdinand still professed the utmost veneration for the king of Britain, declaring that all he desired was suitable satisfaction for the injuries he had received; but he observed, that he had undertaken the war with the advice and assistance of several princes, without whose consent he would

Fruitless negotiation with the emperor.

Du Chesne Hist. d'Angleterre.

A. C. 1621. would not take any material reſolution; but he ſaid he had convoked a diet at Ratiſbon, the reſult of whoſe determinations he would impart to the king of England. The archduke dying at Bruſſels about this period, and his widow the infanta Iſabella writing to Ferdinand in favour of the Palatine, Digby ſeized this opportunity of demanding a truce for the lower Palatinate: and the emperor promiſed to comply with his demand, provided the duke of Bavaria would conſent to ſuch a ceſſation; he even adviſed Digby to go and negotiate the truce with that prince, and he found him in the upper Palatinate; but, when he mentioned the cauſe of his coming, the duke told him the country was almoſt wholly ſubdued, and he would take care that in a very little time there ſhould be no occaſion for further hoſtilities. James being informed of this reply, complained to the emperor of the duke's having invaded the Palatinate; and propoſed that his ſon-in-law ſhould renounce his pretenſions to the crown of Bohemia, ſubmit to the emperor, and implore his pardon on his knees: he at the ſame time declared, that if he could not obtain favour for his ſon-in-law by fair means, he would ſupport him by force of arms. Ferdinand ſtill reſolved to amuſe and deceive this weak prince; and ſent the count de Schwartzinburg ambaſſador to London, on pretence of concerting the conditions of the truce.

Rushworth.

The king demands a ſupply.

When Digby returned to England, the king re-aſſembled the parliament on the twentieth day of November, and ſent the lord treaſurer, accompanied by this ambaſſador, to ſignify his intentions to both houſes. He told them, That ſince their adjournment, the king had, by his proclamations, redreſſed ſeven and thirty grievances, of which his people complained: That he had aſſembled his parliament on the promiſe which the commons had made

made to assist him powerfully for the recovery of the Palatinate: That he had done his utmost endeavours to procure a good peace, though they had not met with the desired success: That he had advanced forty thousand pounds for the payment of the troops employed in guarding the Palatinate; but all his efforts would be fruitless, should the parliament proceed upon modern rather than upon antient principles. Then lord Digby recounted the particulars of his embassy; adding, that a large sum of money was absolutely necessary to subsist the army commanded by the count de Mansfeldt, and to send a reinforcement of English troops into the Palatinate. A. C. 1621.

The commons having no faith in the king's sincerity, and being unwilling to grant subsidies which might be misapplied, drew up a remonstrance, imputing all the grievances of the kingdom, and all the dangers that threatened the protestant religion, in a great measure to the projected marriage between the prince of Wales and the infanta of Spain: as well as to the encouragement and toleration of papists. As effectual remedies for these evils, they proposed that his majesty should declare war against that prince, whose arms and wealth had maintained the troubles in the Palatinate: that the laws should be put in execution against popish recusants: and that the prince of Wales should be married to some protestant princess. They likewise suggested other measures for preventing the growth of popery. They promised to grant an intire subsidy for the defence of the Palatinate; in consideration of which they desired that he would give his royal assent to the bills that should be presented before the end of the session, and grant a general amnesty, which should imply a discharge of all that was due to the crown before his accession; and extend to many other transgressions specified in the declaration. The king

Breach between the king and commons.

A. C. 1621. king being informed of their proceedings, was ſhocked at this unprecedented remonſtrance, which not only taxed him with inſincerity, and attachment to the Romiſh religion, but alſo ſtruck at the very root of his prerogative, in directing his conduct and adminiſtration. He then reſided at Newmarket, from whence he ſent a letter to the ſpeaker, commanding the houſe to forbear meddling with the affairs of government, the marriage of his ſon, or the honour of his allies. He gave them to underſtand, that he was poſſeſſed of the right and power to puniſh faults committed during the ſeſſion of parliament, as well as at any other time; and that ſhe would not fail to exerciſe that power as often as the inſolence of the members ſhould give him cauſe. He concluded with aſſuring them, that if they had touched upon any points which he had formerly forbidden them to diſcuſs, he would not deign to receive or anſwer their petition. The commons were incenſed, not intimidated, by this menacing letter: they knew their own ſtrength and the king's weakneſs, and immediately framed a new petition, to which they tacked the remonſtrance. This new paper was conceived in very reſpectful terms: but it was no leſs bold than reſpectful. After having reminded him of the chearfulneſs with which they undertook to aſſiſt him in the defence of the Palatinate, they obſerved that their zeal for the proteſtant religion, and the intereſt of his majeſty's family, had induced them to repreſent the dangers with which both were threatened; and to point out remedies for thoſe evils: that, by his letter to the ſpeaker, he ſeemed bent upon depriving them of the parliamentary liberty to ſpeak freely in the houſe, as well as of the juriſdiction which the houſe exerciſed over its own members: they therefore begged he would not violate a privilege which was their undoubted right, and which they inherited

rited of their anceſtors; a right which he himſelf had confirmed in his ſpeeches to parliament, and without which it would be impoſſible to diſcuſs and determine the affairs that might fall under their cognizance. They ſent this petition with the remonſtrance to the king by twelve deputies, who were treated in a moſt ungracious manner. He received the petition, but refuſed the remonſtrance; and in a few days ſent his anſwer in writing. He therein chid them ſeverely for preſuming to intrench upon his prerogative; mentioned the ſteps he had taken for the defence of the Palatinate; laid the blame of the war upon the imprudence of his ſon-in-law: complained that they had ſtruck at the moſt eſſential parts of ſovereignty, by violating his alliances; preſuming to direct his conduct in the proſecution of the war; and dictating to him with regard to his ſon's marriage, as well as concerning the amneſty they had demanded. He told them he was an old and wiſe king, that needed none of their counſel; that thoſe matters were above their comprehenſion; and they ought to remember the Latin proverb, Ne ſutor ultra crepidam. In all undertakings a man ought to have regard to his own abilities. He ſaid they had miſinterpreted his letter to the ſpeaker; that though their privileges were derived from the favour of his predeceſſors and himſelf, he would be careful in preſerving them, until they ſhould invade his prerogative; but in that caſe he would ſtrip them of thoſe boaſted privileges, which ſerved only to diminiſh the faireſt flowers of the crown. The commons, alarmed at this laſt part of his declaration, had immediate recourſe to a proteſtation, in which they repeated all their former pretenſions to freedom of ſpeech, and liberty of offering their advice to the crown, without limitation; and affirmed, that the liberties, A. C. 1621.

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A. C. 1621. franchiſes, privileges, and juriſdiction of parliament, are the antient and indubitable right of inheri-
Ruſhworth. Wilſon. Coke. tance peculiar to the ſubjects of England. James no ſooner underſtood their intention, than he haſtened to town; and ſending for the journal of the houſe of commons, tore out with his own hand the proteſtation, which he declared null and void, both on account of the manner in which it had been framed, and of the matter it contained. It had (as he alledged) been drawn up by a commitee, and preſented at an unuſal hour, and in a tumultuous manner, when very few members were in the houſe. He therefore cancelled the proteſtation by an act of council. In a few days after this effort in behalf of his prerogative he diſſolved the parliament by proclamation, and then wreaked his vengeance upon thoſe members of the houſe of commons who had taken freedoms with his power and adminiſtration. Cook, Philips, Selden, Pym, and Mallery, were committed to priſon. Diggs, Crew, Rich, and Sir James Perrot were exiled to Ireland, on pretence of executing ſome commiſſion in that country; and a pretext was found for confining the earls of Oxford and Southampton in the Tower.

James hated at home, and ridiculed abroad. The whole nation was now divided between the court and the country parties. All the papiſts and the Arminians, which were by this time formed into a ſect in England, eſpouſed the cauſe of the king; and the puritans declared for the oppo-
A. C. 1622. ſition. Faction was inflamed into mutual rancour and animoſity. The royaliſts affected to confound all their oppoſers under the name of Puritans; and theſe in their turn accuſed the royaliſts of popery and Arminianiſm. Thoſe who profeſſed the tenets of Arminius were now as much careſſed as they had been formerly deteſted by the courtiers; and William

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liam Laud, who adopted this faith, was promoted to the bishopric of St. David's. James had now not only entailed upon himself the hatred of a powerful faction at home, but also incurred the contempt of all the states upon the continent. In his own kingdom they revived the scandalous insinuations touching his mother's connexion with David Riccio; and in the Spanish Netherlands he was publicly ridiculed in comedies, pictures, and pasquinades †. A. C. 1622.

Notwithstanding these insults the king continued to negotiate. He dismissed Digby to Spain, and Weston to Brussels, in order to finish the two important affairs of the marriage and the Palatinate; and, in order to fill his exhausted coffers, directed the judges on their circuits to demand a Benevolence of his subjects. His imagination was still regaled with the portion of two millions, which he should receive with the infanta of Spain; for which reason he ordered Digby to conclude the match, without stipulating for the restitution of the Palatinate; believing, that after the celebration of the nuptials Philip would not refuse him that favour. When Digby, who was in the course of this year created earl of Bristol, set out for Madrid, the king dispatched Gage to Rome, in order to hasten the dispensation; and in order to render his holiness the more propitious, released all the popish recusants Sets at liberty all Roman catholic priests.

† In a theatrical piece acted at Brussels, a courier was introduced, declaring the melancholy tidings that the Palatinate would soon be wrested from the emperor; inasmuch as the king of Denmark had agreed to furnish the expelled elector with one hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch had resolved to spare him the like number of butter boxes, and the king of England to employ one hundred thousand ambassadors. James was painted with an empty scabbard in his hand; and in another piece with a sword in the scabbard, which a number of persons endeavoured in vain to unsheath. He was likewise exhibited with his empty pockets turned inside out. The electress queen of Bohemia was represented as a poor Irish trull, with her child at her back, and her husband carrying the cradle behind her. Wilson.

A. C. 1622. Rushworth. who were in prison, by an order under the great seal addressed to all the judges of the kingdom. As this arbitrary step of dispensing with the laws produced loud clamours all over the nation, the bishop of Lincoln, keeper of the seals, published a justification of the king's conduct. He alledged that it would ill become his majesty to sollicit foreign princes in behalf of their protestant subjects, while he himself practised such severities against the Roman catholics of his own kingdom; and that the English jesuits had written a book in which they exhorted the French king to excite the same laws against the Huguenots, which were levelled at the catholics of Great Britain.

Imperialists reduce the Palatinate, except Frankendahl. The count of Schwartzenburgh, when he arrived in England, was found to have no power to conclude a truce; and therefore there was a necessity for negotiating with the archdutchess at Brussels, whither, as we have observed, Weston, had been dispatched as ambassador; and, to pave the way towards success, lord Vaux, a papist was permitted to levy two thousand men in England, to serve this princess in the war against the states general. Mean while prince Christian of Brunswick, administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt, who had accompanied the Palatine to the Hague, levied an army in Westphalia, which had retired into Alsace: but, being opposed by the Spanish forces, the count of Anhalt, and the Bavarian army under Tilly, they found great difficulty in entering the Palatinate. The elector travelling through France, arrived at the army of Mansfeldt, which had advanced to Germersheim: but the prince of Baden was defeated on the sixth day of May. In a month after this action, count Tilly routed the Palatine and Mansfeldt, who fled to Manheim; and he afterwards attacked prince Christian, who, though worsted in the engagement, made shift to join the elector with good part of his forces. They were

afterwards ſurrounded by the Spaniſh and Bavarians, reinforced to the number of fifty thouſand. Then the palatine returned to Holland. The prince of Brunſwick and Mansfeldt marching to the Low-Countries, were attacked in Brabant by Gonſalez de Cordova; and the battle was fought with equal ſucceſs on both ſides. The prince of Brunſwick loſt his arm by a cannon-ball: and Mansfeldt continued his route to Holland. Tilly being left without an enemy in the Palatinate, reduced Heidelberg and Manheim, and then undertook the ſiege of Frankendahl. A. C. 1622.

During theſe tranſactions, conferences were begun at Bruſſels, at the deſire of James, in order to procure the truce which he had deſired; but the Spaniards refuſed to treat with any but principals, and the Engliſh ambaſſador was not veſted with ſufficient powers from the Palatine and his allies. When theſe were obtained, the archdutcheſs owned that ſhe herſelf had no other power than a ſimple letter from the emperor, deſiring her to concert proper meaſures with the Engliſh ambaſſador: in a word, that princeſs and the count de Schwartzenburgh protracted the negotiation on various pretences, until Hiedelberg was taken and Manheim beſieged. James wrote to the Spaniſh monarch, deſiring that the affairs of the Palatine might coninue in their preſent poſture till the expiration of the truce, and that the blockade of Manheim might be raiſed. But before Philip could give orders for this purpoſe, that city had ſurrendered, and Tilly had inveſted Fankendahl, which he would ſoon have reduced, had not the overflowing of the rivers compelled him to abandon his enterprize. Fruitleſs conference at Bruſſels. Hiſt. de Rebellion de Boheme.

Hitherto the court of Spain had amuſed James with a fruitleſs negotiation for a marriage, to which the houſe of Auſtria was extremely averſe. The Truce between the emperor and elector Palatine.

A. C. 1622. pope would not grant the dispensation, without stipulating such advantages for the catholic religion in England, as he could not believe James would ever allow: but this prince was so intent upon the match and the two millions, that he subscribed to all his conditions; and the king of Spain foreseeing that his condescension would, in all probability, pave the way for the re-establishment of popery in the dominions of Great-Britain, resolved at last to bestow the infanta upon the prince of Wales. He perceived that the king of England would not be much longer amused by artifices, of which he began to find himself the dupe; and took it for granted, that he would, upon his being undeceived, support the Palatine effectually: this consideration, added to the other motive, determined him in favour

A. C. 1623. of the marriage. In these sentiments he wrote to the archdutchess, desiring she would order the general to raise the siege of Frankendahl, and renew the congress for a truce at London, where it was accordingly concluded for eighteen months, on condition that Frankendahl should be put into the hands of the infanta Isabella, who should restore it at the expiration of the truce to the English; and that the elector Palatine should renounce all connexion with the prince of Brunswick and count Mansfeldt. Before the conclusion of this ridiculous treaty, the emperor at the diet of Ratisbon had transferred the electoral dignity and the upper Palatinate to the duke of Bavaria, in spite of a vigorous opposition from several princes, who dreaded such an example.

Prince of Wales and Buckingham visit Spain.

The king of England saw with unconcern his son-in-law thus stripped of his estate and dignity; and still consoled himself for the contempt of mankind, with the hope of the marriage, in which he by this time really had reason to think he should not be disappointed. He and the prince of Wales had

had signed all the articles proposed by the courts of Rome and Madrid, and agreed to every regulation touching the infanta's portion and her jointure. The counts of Olivarez and Gondemar had shewn Philip's approbation, in a writing signed with his own hand. As the dispensation was expected from Rome in the month of March or April at farthest, it was resolved that the marriage should be celebrated in four days after it should be received; and, that in twenty days after this ceremony, the infanta should set out for England. Nothing could have prevented the conclusion of this long expected marriage, but the frantic step which was now taken by the prince of Wales and the marquis of Buckingham. This favourite, with a view either to have the honour of finishing an affair of such importance, or to contract a nearer intimacy with the prince of Wales; or, lastly, to display his influence and gallantry to the Spanish nation, persuaded Charles to surprise Philip with a visit, which, from the romantic nature of the adventure, would captivate the admiration and affection of that monarch and his subjects, and induce him to take some resolution in favour of the Palatine, as a return for this generous confidence. The prince approved of the proposal, which was communicated to the king when he happened to be in good humour; and he signed his assent before he reflected on the consequences, agreeing that the prince and Buckingham should set out in disguise, attended by Sir Francis Cottington, secretary to Charles, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed chamber. These were pitched upon, not only as persons in whom they could confide, but also because they had been at the court of Spain, and understood the language of the country. When James began to consider this strange project, the timidity of his disposition exaggerated all the dangerous consequences that might A. C. 1623.

A. C. 1623 attend the execution of it; and next day he imparted them to his ſon and favourite, begging they would think no more of ſuch a raſh undertaking. The prince inſiſted upon his promiſe; the marquis upbraided him with breach of faith: Sir Francis Cottington, being conſulted, confirmed all the king's fears: James broke out into a paſſion of tears and lamentation, exclaiming he was undone, and that he ſhould loſe baby Charles. Buckingham chid, reviled, and threatened Cottington for his preſuming to give his advice in affairs of ſtate; and the king, rather than diſoblige his favourite, renewed his conſent to the journey.

Where Charles is treated with great honour and hoſpitality.

The neceſſary preparations being made, they ſet out for France, through which they travelled in diſguiſe, and even ventured to appear at a ball in Paris, where Charles ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, whom he afterwards eſpouſed. In eleven days after his departure from England he arrived at Madrid, where Philip received him in the moſt cordial manner. He expreſſed the deepeſt obligation to him for the generous confidence he had repoſed in his honour; preſented him a golden key that opened the locks of all his apartments; and introduced him into the palace with all the pomp of a coronation. The privy-council were publicly ordered to obey him as the king himſelf; all the priſons of Spain were thrown open in honour of this royal ſtranger; ſumptuary laws were ſuſpended; and the king honoured him with precedency in every place but the prince's own apartment, where he was ſuppoſed to be at home. The only circumſtance in which they maintained any reſerve, related to the infanta, whom the Spaniſh manners would not allow him to ſee but in public, until the diſpenſation ſhould arrive. In a word, nothing could be more noble and generous than the conduct of Philip on this remarkable occaſion. True it is,

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endeavours were uſed to convert him to the catholic religion, both by theological arguments and political reaſons. He received a letter from pope Gregory XV. exhorting him to return within the pale of the church, and imitate his glorious anceſtors, who had ſignalized themſelves ſo often in the defence of religion. To this he ſent a civil anſwer, which gave offence to narrow minds among the proteſtants. When the diſpenſation arrived, they found it clogged with certain additional articles, importing, That the infanta ſhould have a church in London: That the children of the marriage ſhould be educated by the mother, until they ſhould have attained the tenth year of their age: That the nurſes ſhould be catholics, appointed by the infanta: And that the king of England ſhould give ſecurity for the performance of the articles, concerning religion. Philip agreed to be ſecurity for James, to whom the new-drawn articles were ſent by Cottington. A. C. 1623.

James agrees to marriage articles propoſed by the pope and king of Spain.

His arrival in England was attended with a report that the pope and the king of Spain demanded a toleration for Engliſh papiſts. James actually conſulted his council on this ſubject, and received a letter from Abbot archbiſhop of Canterbury, conjuring him, as he tendered his own ſafety and the welfare of the nation, to forbear taking ſuch a pernicious meaſure. James, without paying the leaſt regard to this remonſtrance, ſigned, ſealed, and ſwore to the execution of the articles, by ſome of which he promiſed that the Roman catholics ſhould not be moleſted in the private exerciſe of their religion; and that no new laws ſhould be made to their prejudice. Cottington was ſent back to Madrid with thoſe ratified conditions; and the king was ſo well pleaſed with the ſucceſs of the negotiation, that he created his favourite Villiers, duke of Buckingham, though there was not another perſon in

A. C. 1623. England who poſſeſſed ſuch a dignity. His condeſcenſion was ſo great that Philip began to doubt his ſincerity. He poſtponed the departure of the infanta to the ſpring; and in the mean time ordered his ambaſſador in England to deſire the king would begin to execute his engagements in favour of the catholics. James was embarraſſed by this demand: he dreaded the conſequence of proclaiming a toleration; but he delivered into the ambaſſador's hand a declaration of his council, ſpecifying his intention for that purpoſe; and the court of Spain ſeemed to be ſatisfied with this expedient. Pope Gregory dying in the interim, the nuncio refuſed to deliver the diſpenſation, until it ſhould be confirmed by the new pontiff; and Urban XIII. being raiſed to the papacy, deferred this ſtep, in hope of the prince's converſion.

Match broke off by the intrigues of Buckingham.

The count de Olivarez, Philip's prime miniſter, reminded Buckingham of his having promiſed that Charles ſhould become a proſelyte to the catholic religion; and the duke gave him the lie without heſitation. This Engliſh miniſter had rendered himſelf extremely odious to the Spaniards by his levity and preſumption; and he, in his turn, hated them with the like averſion. He ſaw the diſpoſition of Charles was perfectly well ſuited to the Spaniſh gravity and reſerve; and was afraid that, ſhould the marriage ſucceed, his influence would be ſuperſeded by the intereſt of that nation at the court of England. He had now gained the aſcendency over the prince's ſpirit; and whatever arguments he may have uſed, certain it is, he all of a ſudden detached him from the proſecution of the alliance. It was a more difficult taſk to perſuade the king to part at once with the hopes he had ſo long indulged; yet even this he accompliſhed. He gave him to underſtand by letters, that Philip had no intention to effect the reſtitution of the Palatinate, nor

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even to accompliſh the contract of marriage; but that the prince ran the riſque of being detained all his life in Spain. Charles wrote at the ſame time to his father, that he did not expect to return; and deſired that he would thence forward conſider the electreſs as his ſole heir. A. C. 1623. Weldon. Coke.

James, alarmed at this intelligence, wrote in the firſt tranſport of his fear to Buckingham, charging him to bring home the prince immediately; and forthwith diſpatched veſſels to St. Andero in Biſcay, to take them on board. The duke immediately communicated this order to Philip, alledging the prince's return was abſolutely neceſſary to quiet the fears and ſuſpicions of the Engliſh people: but, in the mean time, he would leave a proxy, to eſpouſe the infanta, as ſoon as the confirmed diſpenſation ſhould arrive. The king of Spain made no objection to his return, but offered to be the prince's proxy; a procuration for this purpoſe was drawn up and ſigned by the prince of Wales, who delivered it to the earl of Briſtol, with order to put it into the hands of Philip in ten days after the arrival of the diſpenſation. The Spaniſh monarch accompanied his gueſt to the Eſcurial, where he was royally regaled; and erected a pillar on the ſpot where they parted, as a monument of their friendſhip. The prince, before he embarked, diſpatched one of his domeſtics with a letter to the earl of Briſtol at Madrid, deſiring that he would not part with the procuration until he (Charles) ſhould be ſatisfied that the infanta, after the ceremony, ſhould not take the veil. The ambaſſador, willing to remove this obſtacle before the arrival of the diſpenſation, demanded ſecurities of the Spaniſh monarch; who returned a very ſatisfactory anſwer, which the earl communicated to king James and the prince of Wales. James had not yet reſigned his hope of the marriage, though

The prince and Buckingham return to England.

A. C. 1623 though he now became more than ever ſollicitous about the intereſt of his daughter. He, in a letter to Briſtol, expreſſed his hope that before Chriſtmas he ſhould be bleſſed with two articles of agreeable news, namely, the marriage of his ſon, and the reſtoration of his daughter. The ambaſſador diſcourſed on this ſubject with the count d'Olivarez, who declared that the procuration ſhould never be demanded, until the king ſhould have firſt delivered a promiſe in writing, that the Palatinate ſhould be reſtored. It was at this period that the prince of Wales diſcloſed to his father the averſion he had conceived to the marriage. His remonſtrance was ſeconded by the duke of Buckingham, who had for many years governed him with the moſt deſpotic authority; and his influence muſt have been very powerful indeed, to overcome the king's attachment to an alliance, for which he had ſo long ſacrificed the intereſt of his family. He forbade the earl of Briſtol to part with the procuration; an order which was no ſooner ſignified to Philip, than the infanta laid aſide the title of princeſs of Wales, which ſhe had aſſumed ſince the arrival of the diſpenſation; and a ſtop was put to all the preparations for the marriage. The earl of Briſtol was immediately recalled; and as he had never humbled himſelf before the favourite, was expoſed, in the ſequel to his reſentment, which Charles himſelf adopted even after his acceſſion to the throne.

Wilſon. Du Cheſne Clarendon.

James convokes a parliament.

Since the return of the prince from Spain, he and Buckingham intirely ſuperſeded the authority of James, and ruled the kingdom according to

A. C. 1624. their own pleaſure. The duke ſeems to have perſuaded Charles that Philip acted with inſincerity; otherwiſe we cannot account for his eager deſire of denouncing war againſt that monarch. The king's reluctance to ſuch meaſures was overpowered by the

the impetuosity of those who directed his conduct: A. C. 1624.
they prevailed upon him to sign orders for exacting a Benevolence, which was partly levied in the most arbitrary manner, on pretence of recovering the Palatinate; but all of a sudden the collectors desisted; and James convoked a parliament, to which Buckingham thought he should recommend himself effectually by his having broke off the Spanish match, an alliance so disagreeable to the English nation. In order to pave the way to this popularity, he affected to caress some of the leading puritans, consulting them upon means for re-uniting the chapter-lands to the crown; and when the parliament met, the king's speech to the two houses plainly proved, that he spoke the suggestions of a minister, in contradiction to the whole tenour of his former conduct. Instead of expatiating upon his prerogative, as usual, he now modestly craved their advice and assistance touching his son's marriage, the welfare of his daughter and family, and the general peace of Europe. He mentioned the prince's journey to Spain: which, together with all his negotiations for the match, had, as he said, proved ineffectual from the insincerity of the court of Madrid. He declared that he never designed to grant a toleration to the catholics; protested before God, that his intention was to maintain the commons in the enjoyment of all their privileges; and conjured them again to take into immediate consideration the important subjects he had proposed. This harangue was well received by the house, which Buckingham had filled with his creatures.

Buckingham becomes popular.

In a conference between the peers and commons, while the prince of Wales was present, the duke, in a long discourse, explained the motives of the prince's journey to Spain; the negotiation for the marriage and restitution of the Palatinate, and the reasons of the prince's abrupt return. He alledged that the king

A. C. 1621. king had been misled by the false reports of the earl of Bristol; that Philip never intended either to conclude the match, or interest himself in behalf of the Palatine; and that the whole blame of the miscarriage ought to be laid upon the English ambassador, who had abused his majesty's confidence. For the truth of his assertions he appealed to Charles, who confirmed the truth of his allegations; and his speech was crowned with universal applause. The Spanish ambassador having complained to the king, that the duke of Buckingham spoke of his master in disrepectful terms, the two houses presented an address to his majesty, declaring that the duke had said nothing which ought to give offence to the Spanish monarch; and they thanked that nobleman for his candid narration. As the king had not told them that the negotiation for the marriage was absolutely at an end, they drew up another address, counselling his majesty to break off the treaty; and James, convening them in the house of peers, declared he was ready to comply with their request, provided they would enable him to support the war, which would infallibly ensue. He even condescended so far as to propose, that the subsidies, which they should grant, might be managed by commissioners appointed in parliament. They promised to vote three whole subsidies and as many fifteenths on these terms; and he dispatched a courier to Madrid with letters, by which he formally broke off the negotiation.

Parliament petitions the king against the papists.

This resolution was no sooner known to the people than they celebrated the rupture with bonfires and other demonstrations of joy. The two houses petitioned the king to execute the laws against jesuits and Roman priests; to give orders for seizing the arms of popish recusants, and obliging them to retire from London; to revoke all licences granted to such recusants, and put a stop to the great concourse

course of people who resorted to mass in the chapels of ambassadors; to deprive all papists of the posts which they enjoyed; and to engage his royal word that he would not for the future suspend the execution of the laws against popish recusants, on any account whatsoever. To this petition the king sent a very complaisant answer, assuring them in general, that he would comply with their demands: but he artfully avoided explaining himself touching those articles that mentioned the removal of the papists from London, and their being divested of all employments. Buckingham's mother and wife, one of the secretarys of state, and many persons possessed of considerable offices, were either professed or reputed Roman catholics. The commons presented a list of fifty-seven to the king, but he would not signify his sentiments on this subject; and they did not insist upon satisfaction. A. C. 1624.

The marquis d'Innoiosa, the Spanish ambassador, incensed against Buckingham for having prevented the marriage, and treated his master with such disrespect, took an opportunity of putting a paper into the king's hand privately; and James retired forthwith into his closet, where he was not a little surprised to find it an accusation of the duke, digested into different articles, calculated to alarm him with fears of personal danger. They imported, That the king was surrounded with people devoted to the prince and the duke; so that he could not be informed of what passed in parliament, or even in his own court; where he was, in all respects as much a prisoner as ever Francis I. of France was at Madrid: That the prince and Buckingham had resolved to remove him from the throne; and, for that purpose, engaged him in a war, that they might have a pretext for levying troops to dethrone him: That the duke's emissaries endeavoured to render his majesty odious and contemptible among his

Spanish ambassador accuses Buckingham to the king.

A. C. 1624. his subjects, and had already corrupted the parliament: That Buckingham had not only broke off the match, but even divulged his master's secrets, and exerted his utmost efforts to embroil him with the Hollanders: That he had been bribed by divers foreign ambassadors, and put himself at the head of the puritans, though he knew they had formed a scheme for transfering the crown to the electress Palatine. In the conclusion of this paper, he was desired to take the opportunity of the prince's being in the house of peers with Buckingham, to send for the secretary of the Spanish ambassador, by whom all his doubts and scruples would be removed. James, alarmed with this information, actually conferred in private with the secretary, and another Spaniard, known by the name of father Maestro; and from that day became melancholy and distrustful. He could not conceal his sentiments from Buckingham, nor forbear to exhibit marks of alienation. One day, setting out with the prince for Windsor, he ordered the duke to stay behind on some slight pretence. Buckingham, shocked at this order, begged in the name of God to know what was laid to his charge; and the king professed himself extremely unhappy in being abandoned by those who enjoyed the greatest share of his affection. The duke retired to his own house, overwhelmed with anxiety; but, by the advice of the bishop of Lincoln, he soon followed the king to Windsor, where he found means to remove his majesty's suspicions: or rather James dissembled his sentiments, through fear of the other's resentment. He longed with impatience for the arrival of the earl of Bristol, on whose integrity and prudence he could rely with the utmost confidence. Before the end of the session, the duke of Buckingham, being offended at Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, and lord treasurer, for having refused

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to answer some demands during the prince's resi- A. C. 1624.
dence in Spain, resolved to shew that as he had influence enough to raise this minister from obscurity, so he had power sufficient left to punish his presumption. He was, by the duke's instigation, impeached of divers misdemeanours; and though the evidence against him was extremely defective he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty thousand pounds, and rendered incapable of sitting in the house of peers. When this prosecution began, the king, who looked upon Middlesex as a faithful and able minister, conjured the prince and Buckingham to use their interest for putting a stop to the proceedings; but they remained inflexible, and he was obliged to submit. Coke Wilson. Clarendon.

Such was the despotism exercised over the mind of this weak prince, that when the earl of Bristol arrived at Dover, he sent an order, commanding him to confine himself within his own house, until he should answer certain questions. After the prorogation of the parliament, that nobleman petitioned that he might be interrogated; and, by dint of repeated sollicitations, obtained his request. The commissioners appointed by the council for this purpose, having examined him minutely, declared they could find nothing reprehensible in his conduct. Nevertheless, he was still confined, and given to understand, that there was only one way to regain his majesty's favour, namely, that of owning himself guilty of certain misdemeanours which were specified to him in writing. He rejected the proposal with disdain; and the king told Buckingham, that he exercised a most horrible tyranny, in compelling an innocent man to declare himself guilty: but he had not interest enough to screen him from oppression, or even to see him, though he ardently wished for an opportunity to profit by his advice. In the mean time, six thousand men were sent over Earl of Bristol confined.

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A. C. 1624. to Holland, to serve in the army of the states, under the prince of Orange; and other levies were begun for troops to join the count of Mansfeldt, who intended to make an irruption into the Palatinate during the winter.

Treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and Henrietta of France.

Henry Rich, lately created earl of Holland, had been sent ambassador to France, to sound that court touching a marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta; and the proposal was agreeable to the French ministry. The earl of Carlisle was sent over to assist Holland in the negotiation; and the conferences were opened in Compeigne, at the very time when James, according to his promise to parliament, ordered the laws to be put in execution against popish recusants. The Roman catholic priests in England implored the intercession of Lewis XIII. who, in compliance with their desire, dispatched the archbishop of Ambrun to sollicit in their behalf. That prelate arrived at Royston in disguise, and had divers conferences with the king, who declared himself a friend to the catholic religion; assured him that the members of that communion should not be injured under his government, and imparted a ridiculous scheme for procuring a general toleration all over Christendom. The treaty for the marriage was still carried on; and after some debates, concluded under the auspices of cardinal de Richlieu, on condition, That the princess Henrietta should enjoy all the indulgences with respect to religion which had been stipulated for the infanta; among other articles, that she should superintend the education of her children to the age of thirteen. Her portion was fixed at eight hundred thousand French crowns; and her jointure at sixty thousand. By three private articles, the king of Great Britain obliged himself to release all the catholics who had been arrested on the score of religion since his last pro-

Rushworth.

proclamation on that ſubject; to reſtore their effects which might have been ſeized; and protect them for the future from perſecution. A. C. 1624.

The earl of Carliſle had propoſed to Lewis a league againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and the French court not only diſcovered an inclination to enter into ſuch an engagement; but even promiſed to join a body of troops to thoſe which James had undertaken to raiſe for the count de Mansfeldt. This great officer arrived in England, where he met with a very honourable reception; and the king agreed that he ſhould have twelve thouſand men, to make a diverſion in the lower Palatinate. This body being levied, James demanded of the infanta Iſabella the town of Frankendahl, which was delivered into her hands, until the truce ſhould expire; and a free paſſage for the Engliſh garriſon through the dominions of Spain and its allies. That princeſs declared, ſhe would punctually comply with the articles of the treaty of London, in delivering up Frankendahl, and granting a paſſage for the Engliſh troops through the territories belonging to her and the king of Spain; but that ſhe could not undertake for their paſſing unmoleſted through the dominions of the empire. Thus was the king of England over-reached in ſuch a manner, that the treaty was rendered altogether ineffectual. When the truce expired, the governor of Frankendahl marched out of the place with his garriſon; but as no perſon appeared in behalf of his Britannic majeſty, he forthwith returned, and retook poſſeſſion of the town. The troops deſtined for the ſervice of Mansfeldt were embarked in the ſevere ſeaſon of the year; and when they arrived at Calais, the French would not ſuffer them to land. Then the general ſet ſail for Zealand, where he met with the ſame repulſe. A negotiation was ſet on foot; but before he could obtain leave to diſembark, an

*Engliſh levies for the ſervice of the Palatinate rendered uſeleſs by want of foreſight in the Engliſh miniſtry.*

A. C. 1624. epidemical diſtemper had deſtroyed two thirds of his army: the ſurvivors either deſerted or enliſted among their countrymen who were in the ſervice of the ſtates; and thus the whole armament was fruſtrated by the imprudence of the miniſtry, which had not beforehand ſtipulated with the French for the landing of the forces.

A. C. 1625. When the diſpenſation for the marriage of Charles and the princeſs Henrietta arrived from Rome, it was clogged with two new articles, implying, That the ſervants of the children born of the marriage, ſhould be catholics nominated by the mother; and, That the king of England and the prince of Wales ſhould ſwear to the performance of this ſtipulation. James refuſed to take another oath, obſerving, that his word was ſufficient: ſo that there was a neceſſity for having a new diſpenſation without this clauſe. But James did not live to ſee the marriage take effect. About the middle of March he was ſeized with a tertian ague, which in a few days brought him to the grave; in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after he had reigned two and twenty years in England. On this occaſion, Buckingham did not paſs unſuſpected of having offered violence to the life of his ſovereign; for he had applied plaiſters to his wriſts and belly, and adminiſtred medicines internally, without the conſent or knowledge of his phyſicians. James was in his ſtature of the middle ſize, inclining to corpulency: his forehead was high, his beard ſcanty, and his aſpect mean. His eyes, which were large and languid, he rolled about inceſſantly, as if in queſt of novelties. His tongue was ſo large, that in ſpeaking or drinking he beſlabbered the by-ſtanders. His knees were ſo weak as to bend under the weight of his body. His addreſs was aukward, and his appearance ſlovenly. There was nothing dignified either in the compoſition of his mind or perſon. We have in the courſe of

Death and character of James I. king of Great Britain.

Wilſon.

of his reign exhibited repeated instances of his ridi- A. C. 1625.
culous vanity, prejudices, profusion, folly, and littleness of soul. All that we can add in his favour is, that he was averse to cruelty and injustice; very little addicted to excess, temperate in his meals, kind to his servants, and even desirous of acquiring the love of his subjects, by granting that as a favour which they claimed as a privilege. His reign, though ignoble to himself, was happy to his people. They were enriched by commerce, which no war interrupted. They felt no severe impositions; and the commons made considerable progress in ascertaining the liberties of the nation*.

* James died at Theobald's, from whence his body was conveyed to Westminster-Abbey, in which it was interred. His children by Anne of Denmark, were Henry Frederick, who died prince of Wales; Robert, who did not survive his infancy; Charles, by whom he was succeeded on the throne; Elizabeth electress Palatine; Margaret, Mary, and Sophia, who died infants. Carte.

In the year 1609, a new settlement was made on the Bermudas by Sir George Somers, who, with Sir Thomas Gates, had embarked for Virginia, but was driven on those islands, which from him were denominated Somer's Islands.

In this and the preceding reign England produced a number of excellent poets, such as Spencer, Sidney, Shakespear, and Johnson; while Bacon excelled in natural philosophy, and Cambden flourished as an antiquary and historian. James himself was an author: he wrote the Basilicon doron: a book on witches and apparitions; and a Commentary on the Revelations, proving the pope to be antichrist.

In the 14th year of this reign, Sir Hugh Middleton, a private citizen of London, supplied part of the city with excellent water, conveyed in an aqueduct from Ware in Hertfordshire, now known by the name of the New-River.

# CHARLES I.

A. C. 1625. Charles I. succeeds to the throne

IMmediately after the deceaſe of James, his ſon Charles was proclaimed king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. He confirmed all the great officers in their places; appointed Sir Albertus More, ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of G. Calvert lord Baltimore, who had profeſſed himſelf a Roman catholic; granted a pardon to Cranfield earl of Middleſex; recalled by proclamation all the Britiſh ſubjects from the Imperial, Spaniſh, and Flemiſh ſervices; iſſued commiſſions for granting letters of repriſal againſt the Spaniards, as well as for raiſing ten thouſand men, partly for a naval expedition, and partly for the recovery of the Palatinate. Theſe troops were ſent to Portſmouth to be embarked, and the expence of their ſubſiſtence and cloathing was aſſigned upon different counties, to be afterwards reimburſed by the exchequer.

His marriage.

The marriage of the king being celebrated by proxy at Paris, the duke of Buckingham was employed to conduct the queen to England. She arrived on the twelfth day of June at Dover, where ſhe was received by Charles, and the nuptials were conſummated at Canterbury. On the ſixteenth day of the ſame month, the king and queen made their public entry into London; and on the eighteenth the parliament aſſembled. Charles, in his firſt ſpeech, reminded the two houſes of their having counſelled his father ro break off the two treaties, and employ more effectual means for the recovery of the Palatinate: he therefore expected they would ſupport him in maintaining the war, which was the reſult of their advice. He intreated them to be ſpeedy with their ſupplies; and aſſured them

*CHARLES I.*

them of his attachment to the proteſtant religion. A. C. 1625.
Lord Coventry keeper of the great ſeal enlarged upon the different parts of the king's ſpeech, recommended his wants to their generoſity, and vouched for his majeſty's affection to his parliament and people.

By this time the popularity of Buckingham had vaniſhed: the commons had diſcovered that they were miſled by his falſe repreſentation of the Spaniſh affair; and he no longer payed court to the puritan faction, which was now become extremely powerful. Under this denomination, the court affected to conſider all thoſe leading members of the lower houſe, who had aſſociated themſelves in a regular deſign to abridge the prerogative of the crown, and aſcertain and augment the liberties of the commons. They looked upon the hierarchy as the firm prop of monarchical power, and deteſted it accordingly: they found the levelling principles of the puritans more conſonant to their republican ſchemes: they ſaw them numerous, wealthy, warm, enterpriſing, and enthuſiaſtic; of conſequence, the more eaſily moved and actuated by art and diſſimulation: they therefore enrolled themſelves as members of that party. Notwithſtanding the eagerneſs with which the king preſſed the commons for an immediate ſupply, the firſt buſineſs upon which the parliament proceeded, was a petition of both houſes againſt popiſh recuſants; and they received a gracious though a general anſwer. Then they ſummoned doctor Montague, the king's chaplain, to the bar of the houſe, for having written a book, intitled, An appeal to Cæſar, in which he gave it as his opinion, that a virtuous catholic might be ſaved from eternal damnation; and ſeemed to favour the Roman doctrine. He was remitted to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who contented himſelf with exhorting him to avoid writing on ſuch ſubjects for the future. The king

The commons refractory.

Ruſhworth.

A. C. 1625. was piqued at this profecution, and evoked the cauſe before his own council. He could not help expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the conduct of the commons, who nevertheleſs granted two ſubſidies, though theſe were not at all adequate to his neceſſities.

Seamen refuſe to fight againſt the Huguenots.

As the plague made dreadful havoc in London, the parliament was adjourned to Oxford; and in the mean time an incident happened, which ſtrongly marked the character of the Engliſh people at this period. James, immediately before his death, had promiſed to lend the French king ſix ſhips to ſerve againſt the Genoeſe; but Lewis XIII. reſolved to uſe them in the ſiege of Rochelle againſt his proteſtant ſubjects. They accordingly ſailed to Dieppe, under the command of Pennington; but the captains and ſeamen no ſooner underſtood their deſtination, than they weighed anchor, and returned to England. The king ſent a poſitive order to Pennington, commanding him to ſteer his courſe to Dieppe again, and deliver them into the hands of the French. The order was obeyed; but all the men deſerted rather than ſerve againſt the proteſtants of Rochelle. Yet, even theſe Huguenots were ſupported by the king of Spain, and their revolt prevented Lewis from aſſiſting the Engliſh monarch in his deſigns againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

Parliament diſſolved.

When the parliament aſſembled at Oxford, the houſe of commons was immediately filled with complaints againſt the duke of Buckingham and other miniſters, who had counſelled the king to miſapply the ſubſidies which had been granted to his father. They obſerved, that no care was taken to protect the trade of the nation from pirates: that there was a powerful party in the kingdom, which openly favoured Popery and Arminianiſm; and they again ſummoned Montague to the bar of the houſe, where he was very ſeverely reprimanded. The king perceiving they

they were more intent upon the grievances of the nation, than upon the exigency of his affairs, ſent for both houſes to the hall of Chriſt-church college, where he again put them in mind of their promiſe to ſupport the war; and aſſured them, that the ſupply they had voted would not be ſufficient to defray the expence of a fleet which he had actually equipped. Then one of the ſecretaries of ſtate explained the neceſſity of granting a much larger ſum for the king's occaſions. The commons, inſtead of complying with theſe hints, renewed their complaints againſt the duke of Buckingham and the favourers of popery; and Charles, in order to render them more propitious to his views, indulged them with a particular anſwer to every article of their former petition, granting every thing they deſired. Even this condeſcenſion failed to mollify their hearts, and open their purſes. They ſtill dwelt upon the grievances of the nation, and the ſtate of religion; and the king, incenſed to ſee all his meaſures broken, diſſolved the parliament, on pretence of the plague's having extended to Oxford. But the commons before their diſſolution, with a view to juſtify themſelves in the opinion of the people, drew up an artful declaration, importing, That their deſign was to ſupport his majeſty in all his juſt undertakings, after they ſhould have procured redreſs for the grievances of the nation. A. C. 1625. Ruſhworth.

Charles having nothing to hope from parliament, raiſed money by way of loan, extorted by orders under the privy ſeal; and, to facilitate this expedient, iſſued a proclamation, recalling all the children of Engliſh parents that were in foreign ſeminaries, as well as the ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, who were in the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria; while, at the ſame time, the privy council publiſhed an order for diſarming all popiſh recuſants. The fleet deſtined to act againſt Spain, con- Fruitleſs expedition againſt the Spaniards.

A. C. 1625. sisting of fourscore ships, having on board ten regiments of infantry, set sail in October, under the command of Edward Cecil just created viscount Wimbleton, instructed to cruise in a certain latitude, to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet on its return from the West-Indies. He was disappointed in his expectation; but, might have taken or destroyed a great number of rich galleons and gallies lying in the bay of Cadiz, had the earl of Essex, who commanded the van, attacked them before they could have put themselves under the cannon of Portreal, and sunk some vessels in the channel to block up the passage. A thousand men being landed with Sir John Burgh, the fort of Puntal surrendered at the first summons. The rest of the infantry were next day set on shore, and marched towards the bridge of Suazzo; but, being quartered in a place where there was great plenty of wine, the soldiers drank it to such excess, that universal confusion ensued; and the officers were obliged to desist from their enterprize. The army was immediately reimbarked, and the fleet returned to England about the middle of December, without having struck one stroke of importance.

The king's coronation.

The king's finances being quite exhausted, he published a proclamation, ordering all persons possessed of forty pounds a year, who had not yet been knighted, to come and receive that dignity: but, reaping very little advantage from this expedient, he found himself under the necessity of convoking another parliament. In the mean time he was crowned at Westminster by the hands of Laud bishop of Bath and Wells, who approaching him as he sat upon his throne, pronounced an obsolete address in the Latin language, to this effect, "Stand, and hold fast, from henceforth, that "place of royal dignity whereof you are the lawful "and undoubted heir by succession from your an-

"cestors,

*THOMAS* Lord *COVENTRY.*

" ceſtors, and which hath been this day delivered A. C. 1625.
" unto you, in the name and by the authority of
" Almighty God, and by the hands of us the
" biſhops and ſervants of God, though unworthy;
" whom as you ſee approach nearer to God's altars,
" ſo vouchſafe the more graciouſly to continue to
" them your royal favour and protection; and the
" Lord Almighty, whoſe miniſters and ſtewards
" they are, eſtabliſh your throne in righteouſneſs,
" that it may ſtand faſt for evermore, like as the
" ſun before him, and as the faithful witneſs in
" heaven." The revival of this invocation, which had been diſcontinued ſince the coronation of Richard II. gave great offence to the puritans, and indeed was a very idle and unſeaſonable mark of Laud's ſuperſtition.

Another parliament convoked.

The king, that he might be rid of the leaders of the oppoſition, appointed them as ſheriffs of counties, ſo that they could not ſit in the houſe of commons; but this ſcheme did not anſwer expectation. That ſpirit had diffuſed itſelf through the whole kingdom; and this new parliament inherited the complexion and character of the laſt. The ſeſſion A. C. 1626. was opened with a ſpeech by Sir Thomas Coventry lord-keeper of the great ſeal, who extolled the virtues of the king, and in his majeſty's name recommended unanimity. He likewiſe aſſured them of the king's affections towards his ſubjects, and exhorted them to enact wholeſome laws for the benefit of his people. The commons having preſented an addreſs to the king, thanking him for his gracious anſwer to the petition delivered by the laſt parliament, began to take the grievances of the people into conſideration. They choſe one committee for ſecret affairs; another to conſider of ways and means to redreſs the grievances; and a third to examine the ſtate of religion. This was their main engine, managed by the famous Pym, chairman of the

A.C. 1626. the committee. Two books, compoſed by Montague, were again brought under inſpection, and condemned as erroneous, popiſh, and Arminian. Charles demanded a ſubſidy, and endeavoured to deſerve it, by ordering the judges to put the laws in execution againſt popiſh recuſants. But ſtill the commons continued to brood upon the grievances: they even obliged the commiſſioners appointed by parliament for managing the ſubſidies granted in the late reign, to give an account of their adminiſtration. Charles not only preſſed them to grant the ſubſidy without further delay, which might be prejudicial to his affairs, but, in a letter to the ſpeaker, he gave the members of the lower houſe to underſtand, that he would not receive a ſupply unleſs it ſhould be proportioned to his occaſions, of which that they might not plead ignorance, he ſignified them in five articles that accompanied the letter. The commons, ſhocked at this peremptory meſſage, preſented an addreſs, couched in the moſt reſpectful terms, expreſſing their hope that he would graciouſly receive ſuch information from his parliament as would diſcover the cauſe of his majeſty's wants as well as of the national grievances; and they proteſted they would aſſiſt him ſo effectually that he ſhould find himſelf ſecure at home and formidable abroad. Charles, in apprehenſion of their impeaching Buckingham, againſt whom they loudly exclaimed as the author of all the grievances, wrote a ſecond letter to the ſpeaker, in which he plainly told them he would not ſuffer them to proceed againſt any of his domeſtics, much leſs againſt thoſe who filled the firſt places about his perſon. He ſaid he could not comprehend their reaſons for attacking the duke of Buckingham, who had been ſo popular in the firſt parliament of his reign for the ſervice he had done the nation: he declared that the duke, inſtead of augmenting, had conſiderably diminiſhed

diminiſhed his fortune; and that he had done nothing but by his maſter's expreſs commands; he therefore deſired they would diſpatch the affair of the ſupply, otherwiſe they themſelves would be the firſt ſufferers by their own delay. This letter produced no effect: they ſtill reſolved to impeach Buckingham. Doctor Turner, one of the members, propoſed the queſtion, whether or not they might proceed againſt the duke upon public report? and it was decided in the affirmative. The king demanded that Turner ſhould be puniſhed for his preſumption; but the meſſage was diſregarded: nevertheleſs they voted three ſubſidies and three fifteenths; but reſolved that the bill ſhould not paſs until their grievances were redreſſed. A. C. 1626 Ruſhworth.

Charles, impatient of their proceedings, convoked both houſes at Whitehall, where he thanked the lords for their loyalty and moderation; but told the commons he had ſent for them to convince them of their having acted contrary to the conſtitution of the kingdom. Then the lord-keeper haranguing them in his majeſty's name, obſerved that as no prince was more attached to the lawful uſe of parliaments than their ſovereign, ſo no king was more jealous of his prerogative, which he would not ſuffer to be violated under the pretext of parliamentary freedom. He complained that Mr. Cook and doctor Turner had ſpoke ſeditiouſly in their houſe, with a view to defame and bring his government into contempt; and that his majeſty's meſſages, demanding that theſe members ſhould be puniſhed for their inſolence, had been diſregarded. He exculpated the conduct of the duke of Buckingham, on the teſtimony of the king himſelf; and inſiſted upon their deſiſting from ſuch irregular informations. He complained that raw members, without age, education, and experience, had preſumed to vilify his council of ſtate: that they had ſpoken of affairs in Commons proceed with uncommon vivacity.

A. C. 1626. such a manner as to prejudice his negotiations with foreign powers: that their committees had not only examined the letters of his secretaries as well as his own, but even ordered the clerks of the office to produce memorials and secret notes made for his majesty's service. He declared that the supplies they had voted were altogether insufficient for the purposes to which they were destined; and commanded them to let him know, by Saturday next, what sum they would add to the subsidies already granted; giving them to understand, that should they fail in voting such an aid as would be sufficient to answer his exigencies, he would not promise to keep them longer assembled; whereas, by complying with his desire, they would obtain his consent to sit as long as the season would permit. The lord-keeper having concluded his speech, the king himself reminded them of the two treaties which had been broken off by the express advice of parliament. He observed that Mr. Cook had said, it was better to be devoured by foreigners, than to be ruined by impositions at home; but, for his part, he thought it was more honourable for a sovereign to be ruined by foreign enemies, than to fall under the contempt of his own subjects: and he told them, that as it was his undoubted prerogative to assemble and dissolve parliaments, it would depend on their behaviour, whether they should continue or cease. As soon as the commons returned to their house they ordered the doors to be shut, and the keys to be laid on the table, that no member might retire until they should have deliberated upon the king's declaration.

They present a remonstrance.

Charles, being informed of their intention, ordered a conference to be held forthwith between the two houses, and sent the duke of Buckingham to explain his meaning in such a manner as might mitigate the severity of his expressions. The duke signified

signified the reasons that induced his majesty to be so importunate for a supply; and assured them he had no intention to interrupt their proceedings upon the grievances of the nation. He took this opportunity to justify his own conduct and magnify his services; and the lord Conway, secretary of state, attempted to demonstrate that the subsidies had been employed according to the intention of parliament. Though the commons were in some measure appeased by this instance of the king's condescension, they presented a remonstrance, vindicating themselves from the charge of irregularity and presumption; representing that it was the undoubted privilege of parliament to deliberate upon national grievances; and humbly intreating that he would not take notice of any thing that might be said in the freedom of their debates, but suspend his judgment until he should see their resolutions. The king, being extremely embarrassed for want of money, and foreseeing that the commons would not deliberate upon that article until they should be satisfied in the other, at length consented to their impeaching the duke of Buckingham. A. C. 1626.

The king accuses the earl of Bristol.

Their proceedings on this subject were retarded by an unexpected incident. The earl of Bristol, who had been confined to his own house ever since his return from Spain, presented a petition to the house of lords; representing that he had not been summoned by writ to parliament, and begging they would intercede with his majesty, that he might enjoy his privilege as a peer of the realm. The lords addressed the king on this subject, and he complied with their request; but at the same time the keeper of the privy-seal wrote to Bristol, in the king's name, desiring he would not obey the writ of summons. This letter the earl presented, with a second petition, to the house of peers, desiring their permission to exhibit articles of accusation against the duke of Buck-

A. C. 1626. Buckingham, who (he affirmed) had abuſed the late king as well as his preſent majeſty, the nation, and the parliament. Charles, incenſed at his preſumption, ſent a meſſage to the lords, declaring he intended to impeach the earl of Briſtol of high treaſon. That nobleman was immediately taken into cuſtody, and brought to the bar of the houſe, where the ſolicitor-general read the articles of accuſation, in the name of the king, who had corrected them with his own hand. At the ſame time the houſe received the earl's impeachment of Buckingham, and lord Conway, ſecretary of ſtate. The king's accuſation of Briſtol was divided into three parts, including his conduct before his embaſſy to Spain, his behaviour during that embaſſy, and his demeanour ſince his return to England: but he acquitted himſelf in ſuch a manner as reflected very little honour on his accuſers.

Commons impeach the duke of Buckingham.

In a few days after this trial, the commons prepared articles of impeachment againſt the duke of Buckingham; and Sir Dudley Diggs accuſed him in the houſe of peers of malverſations, miſpriſions of treaſon, and divers other crimes and offences, ſpecified in thirteen articles, which amounted to nothing more than the practice of buying and ſelling places of honour and profit; to his having in one inſtance extorted money from the Eaſt-India company; and adminiſtered a plaiſter and medicines to the late king in his laſt illneſs, without the knowledge of the phyſicians. The charge was ſupported by Sir John Elliot, who exaggerated every circumſtance of the impeachment, and ſpoke with great virulence and contempt of Buckingham. He and Diggs were next day committed priſoners to the Tower; and the king was ſo imprudent as to declare, in the houſe of lords, that he himſelf would be an evidence to clear the duke of every article in the impeachment. The commons, exaſperated at the

the impriſonment of their members, on pretence of their having ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the king, ſigned a proteſt, importing, That Sir Dudley Diggs had not ſpoken the words of which he was accuſed; and they publicly declared, that neither he nor Elliot had exceeded their commiſſion. The king, who had hoped to intimidate the houſe, finding himſelf diſappointed, thought proper to releaſe the members; and the houſe of peers preſented an addreſs, deſiring that he would alſo ſet at liberty the earl of Arundel, who had been taken into cuſtody for the ſame offence. The king was very unwilling to comply with their requeſt; but, they repeating their demand, and inſiſting upon the commitment's being a breach of privilege, he conſented to the earl's diſcharge, though not without great reluctance.

Parliament diſſolved.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, the office of chancellor in the univerſity of Cambridge becoming vacant by the death of the earl of Suffolk, the duke of Buckingham was, by the king's intereſt, choſen his ſucceſſor; a circumſtance that gave great offence to the commons, who juſtly complained of his being elected at a time when his impeachment was depending, and the plurality of his places formed one article of his accuſation. It was certainly a very impolitic mark of the king's contempt of his accuſers. At length the duke delivered his anſwer to the impeachment, of which the commons demanded a copy: but Charles, in order to divert their attention from this object, wrote a letter to the ſpeaker, inſiſting upon their paſſing the bill for the ſubſidy, without any condition, before the end of next week; otherwiſe he ſhould be obliged to take other meaſures, as his occaſions were too importunate to admit of the leaſt delay. The lower houſe, inſtead of obeying this command, ſent up a petition againſt popiſh recuſants, containing a liſt of nine

A. C. 1626. nine and fifty profeſſed or reputed papiſts, who enjoyed offices under the government. They afterwards demanded an audience of the king, to whom the ſpeaker delivered a declaration, juſtifying their conduct, and a petition requeſting that the duke of Buckingham might be removed from his majeſty's councils and perſon. Charles, ſhocked at the nature and freedom of this addreſs, reſolved to diſmiſs the parliament; and the commons, receiving intimation of his deſign, drew up a remonſtrance, of which every member was furniſhed with a copy. The lords, apprized of the king's reſolution, attempted by an addreſs to divert him from his purpoſe, which however he executed by an immediate diſſolution of the parliament. In the remonſtrance, which was chiefly levelled againſt the duke of Buckingham, the commons complained of the diſſolution of the former parliaments: Of the king's hinting a deſign of laying them intirely aſide: Of his having levied the tax of tonnage and poundage, which had expired with his father, without being renewed by the commons. They conjured him to give up the duke to the juſtice of the nation, and remove him intirely from his councils; otherwiſe all the money they could grant, would, by his miſapplication, redound to the prejudice of the kingdom. Charles publiſhed a declaration to juſtify the diſſolution: he alledged that, by means of ſome turbulent ſpirits in the lower houſe, the commons, inſtead of enabling him to ſupport the war in which he was engaged by the counſel of parliament, diſregarded all his letters and meſſages touching the neceſſity of a preſent ſupply, employing their whole attention in proſecuting his innocent ſervants, and endeavouring to entrench upon his prerogative.

Charles inherited all his father's ſublime notions of the kingly power, and entertained a contempt for the commons which James would never venture to avow.

avow. His temper was more inflexible, his mind more resolute than that of his father; and he thought his glory, his duty to his successors, was interested in opposing and preventing the encroachments of the parliament. He now issued a proclamation for suppressing the remonstrance; and another forbidding all disputes for or against Arminiasm: then he ordered the attorney-general to present an information against Buckingham in the Star-chamber, for having administered medicines to the late king; but this cause was never decided. In order to supply the want of parliamentary subsidies, he established a commission for compounding with popish recusants. He renewed all the leases of the crown tenants; he borrowed a certain sum from every peer; and demanded of the city of London a loan of one hundred thousand pounds, which was refused. He laid a tax upon the sea-ports, for equipping a fleet to protect the trade of the nation; and he continued to exact the tonnage and poundage. He declared the kingdom was threatened with an invasion; ordained a fast to avert the judgments of God; and raised a body of troops, on pretence of defending the nation. On the twenty-seventh day of August, his uncle, the king of Denmark, whom he had engaged in the alliance against the emperor, was totally defeated by the count de Tilly, who took all his baggage and artillery; and Charles was obliged to find money to repair this disaster. For this purpose he could devise no expedient so feasible as that of a general loan: commissioners were immediately appointed, and sent into the different counties, with instructions to demand a certain sum from each individual, according to his estate; to examine upon oath those who should refuse to comply, that it might be known, whether or not any person or persons had tampered with them, to excuse themselves from assisting the king in his necessities; and

A. C. 1626.

The King practises arbitrary methods of raising money.

A. C. 1626. to transmit to the council the names, quality, and places of habitation of those who should prove refractory. A list of the voluntary subscribers was published, with a view to influence others by their example: all the nobility and persons of fortune were ordered to remain at their country-houses, until the subscription should be finished; and, with a view to intimidate the subjects from a refusal, Sir Randolph Crew, the lord chief justice, was divested of his office, because he had expressed a dislike to this imposition. Over and above this instance of severity, soldiers were quartered upon the houses of those who were backward in their contributions; and when they were insulted or injured by those troublesome guests, they could not appeal to the ordinary courts of justice, but were obliged to crave redress from a council of war, which the king had instituted for the regulation of the army. Notwithstanding these precautions, the money came so slowly into the exchequer, that the council thought proper to use more violent methods. Those tradesmen and burghers who rejected the loan were inlisted as soldiers; and persons of a higher rank were, upon their second refusal, sent as exiles into those counties that were at the greatest distance from the places of their habitation: nay, such as refused to submit to this sentence, were imprisoned in London. Venal clergymen were employed to preach up passive obedience and non-resistance. Sibthorp declared from the pulpit, that subjects were punishable for refusing to obey the commands of their sovereign, even though these commands should be contrary to the laws of God, of nature, and of the nation. Manwaring affirmed, that the king was not obliged to observe the laws of the kingdom; but that subjects were bound in conscience to obey him, without restriction, on pain of eternal damnation. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, was suspended

Rushworth.

A. C. 1627.

pended from all his archiepiscopal functions, and confined to his country-house, for having refused to licence Sibthorp's sermon. Manwaring, being in the following parliament condemned by the house of lords to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, to make public recantation at the bars of both houses, to be imprisoned, suspended, and declared incapable of any employment civil or ecclesiastical, was nevertheless pardoned by the king, and in the sequel promoted to a bishopric. A.C. 1627. Franklyn. Rushworth.

Such conduct could not fail to raise a ferment in the nation; and the only prospect the king could have of freeing himself from all his troubles, was by a speedy peace with Spain, and an hearty reconciliation with the commons. He was extremely averse to both these measures. He had not yet gratified Buckingham's revenge against the count de Olivarez; and he himself deeply resented the insolence of the lower house, which had taken such unprecedented liberties with his prerogative and administration. One would imagine his favourite had been bent upon his ruin. Instead of disengaging him from the destructive war in which he was already involved, he entailed upon him another enemy still more formidable than the house of Austria. Buckingham, in his embassy to Paris, had aspired in his gallantry even to the person of the queen of France, Anne of Austria, wife of Lewis XIII. He is said to have made an impression on the heart of that princess, and incurred the jealousy of cardinal de Richlieu, who took immediate steps for preventing the prosecution of his amour, and laid snares for the life of the English minister. The duke being apprized of his designs, denounced vengeance against the cardinal; and at his return to England instigated his sovereign to declare war against France. Such at least was the supposed cause of this rupture; and Buckingham was of a disposition very apt to be

A. C. 1627. influenced by motives of this nature. The queen's chaplains and domeſtics were diſmiſſed, in open violation of the marriage-contract. The duke imagined this affront would incite the French king to commit hoſtilities: but that monarch contented himſelf with remonſtrating againſt the contravention of the treaty. At length a pretext was found by the miniſter. Charles declared in council his reſolution to engage in a war with France, becauſe that court had refuſed to grant a paſſage to the Engliſh troops under the count of Mansfeldt: becauſe it oppreſſed the Huguenots; and the French fleet had made prize of ſome Engliſh veſſels. Monſieur de Soubize, brother to the duke de Rohan, ſolicited ſuccours for the inhabitants of Rochelle, who were threatened with a ſiege; and a ſtrong armament being equipped for that ſervice, the duke of Buckingham, as admiral and commander in chief, ſet ſail from Portſmouth in the beginning of July.

War with France.

The Rochellers, who had received no previous hint of this expedition, refuſed to admit the Engliſh ſuccours into their town, on pretence that they could not take ſuch a material reſolution without the concurrence of the other proteſtants with whom they were aſſociated; but, in reality, they were afraid of their allies, ſuſpecting that Soubize and Blancard, who managed their affairs at the court of Charles, had agreed to betray the place into the hands of the Engliſh. Buckingham thus diſappointed, ſteered his courſe to the iſle of Rhé, and landing with ſeven thouſand men, obliged Toiras the French officer, who commanded in that place, to retire into the fort of St. Martin. Had this been immediately attacked, in all probability he would have been forced to ſurrender: but the duke, being totally ignorant of the art of war, gave him time to provide for his defence; and the ſiege was undertaken in form. The French court no ſooner heard

Diſgraceful expedition to the iſle of Rhé.

heard of this invasion, than the count de Schomberg was dispatched with six or seven thousand men to the isle of Rhé, which he entered without opposition from the English navy; and obliged Buckingham to raise the siege with such precipitation, that two-thirds of his army were cut in pieces before he could reimbark, tho' he himself was the last man that quitted the shore. This proof of his personal courage, however, was but a small subject of consolation for the disgrace and disaster which his country sustained from his misconduct; and for the hatred and curses of his fellow-subjects. A. C. 1627.

Charles not yet discouraged by this miscarriage, resolved to renew his efforts against France; and the inhabitants of Rochelle finding themselves on the eve of a siege, craved succours with the most earnest solicitations. The king proposed to comply with their request; but his finances were altogether exhausted, and almost all his mariners and soldiers had deserted the service for want of pay. He had exercised such acts of severity upon those who refused the loan, that he had nothing to expect from a parliament but the most vigorous opposition. Sir John Elliot had presented a petition to the king, demanding his enlargement; but no regard was paid to his remonstrance. Five other gentlemen, imprisoned for the same refusal, made the like demand, not as a favour, but as the privilege of English subjects; no cause having been assigned for their commitment. This affair was brought to a solemn trial before all the judges of the realm, who refused to admit them to bail by virtue of a Habeas corpus, and remanded them to prison. After these acts of arbitrary power, Charles had very little reason to hope for condescension in the parliament. Nevertheless, such was the emergency of his affairs, that, by the advice of Sir Robert Cotton, he issued out writs for convoking that assembly. Clarendon. Rushworth. A third parliament convoked.

A. C. 1627. assembly. He recalled archbishop Abbot from his country-house, to which he had been confined; released the bishop of Lincoln, and the earl of Bristol; and set at liberty all those who were imprisoned on account of the loan, to the number of seven and twenty. The majority of these were returned as members of the new parliament, which met about the middle of March.

A. C. 1628. The king, in his first speech to both houses, told them that they were convoked on purpose to grant the necessary supplies; and that, should they neglect to contribute what was necessary for the support of the state, he should, in discharge of his conscience, use those means that God had put into his hands, for saving that which the folly of certain persons would otherwise endanger. The lord-keeper, as usual, enlarged upon the king's text. He explained the situation of all the European powers; expatiated upon the ambition of the house of Austria, the perfidy of the French court, and the danger to which the British dominions were exposed from such formidable adversaries. He exaggerated the wants and extolled the merits of his majesty. He repeated the ridiculous plea of the war's having been originally undertaken by advice of parliament. He reminded them of the king's threats, in case of their disobedience; and conjured them to be neither tardy nor sparing in their supplies. The commons began, as in the last parliament, with the grievances of the nation, particularly the practice of billeting soldiers, extorting loans, imprisoning those that refused to lend, and rejecting the privilege of the Habeas corpus, by which the English subject is admitted to bail. Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, Sir Robert Philips, and Sir Edward Coke, distinguished themselves on this occasion by the freedom of their reflections. The first of these, among

Violent opposition in the house of commons.

among other expreſſions of the ſame nature, ſaid, A. C. 1628.
" How can we expreſs our affections while we re-
" tain our fears; or ſpeak of giving, till we know
" whether we have any thing to give?" Went-
worth exclaimed, " They have taken from us, what
" ſhall I ſay? indeed, what have they left us! by
" tearing up the roots of all property, they have
" taken from us all means of ſupplying the king?
" and of ingratiating ourſelves by voluntary proofs
" of duty and attachment." " O improvident
" anceſtors! (cried Philips) O unwiſe forefathers!
" to be ſo curious in providing for the quiet poſ-
" ſeſſion of our lands, and the liberties of parlia-
" ment; and at the ſame time to neglect our per-
" ſonal liberty, and let us lie in priſon during plea-
" ſure, without redreſs or remedy? If this be law,
" why do we talk of liberties? why trouble our-
" ſelves with diſputes about a conſtitution, fran-
" chiſes, and property? what may any man call
" his own, if not the liberty of his perſon?" Sir Edward Coke quoted ſtatutes to prove the king had no power to levy taxes by extorted loans; and he repeated an article of the great charter, importing, That no freeman ſhall be arreſted, impriſoned, or diſſeiſed of his freehold, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by an expreſs law of the land. In vain did the partiſans of the court endeavour to mollify thoſe demagogues, and perſuade them to begin with a ſupply. In vain did ſecretary Cook preſent certain propoſitions from the king: the houſe refuſed to hear them, till they ſhould have diſcuſſed the ſubject of grievences. In oppoſition to the king's petenſions, and to the determination of the judges, they voted, That no ſubject ſhould be impriſoned or arreſted without cauſe ſhewn; and, That the priſoner ſhould enjoy the privilege of the Habeas corpus, even though committed by order of the king or council: That every freeman has,

A. C. 1628. by ancient and indubitable right, the abſolute and intire property of his own eſtate: and, That no tax, talliage, loan, or benevolence, can be impoſed by any other authority than of parliament. Then they allowed the ſecretary to read the king's popoſitions, demanding, That they would equip thirty ſhips for the defence of the coaſts: ten for the aſſiſtance of Rochelle, and the like number to guard the Elbe, the Sound, and the Baltick: that they would provide for the ſubſiſtence of eleven thouſand men deſtined for an expedition abroad; and for ſix thouſand to be ſent as auxiliaries to the king of Denmark: that they would furniſh the forts and magazines with neceſſary ſtores and ammunition: to cauſe twenty ſhips to be yearly built as a reinforcement to the navy: repair the fortified places, pay the arrears due to the train of artillery, the victualling-office, the fleet, and the merchants, whoſe veſſels had been employed in the ſervice: and laſtly, form a magazine for the land-forces.

The commons, without entering into a diſcuſſion of particular articles, reſolved to grant a powerful ſupply; and then reſumed the conſideration of grievances. As the council had confined to their own houſes ſeveral individuals who refuſed the loan, and ſent others to ſerve abroad in the army, the houſe reſolved that no free ſubject could be arreſted or exiled to any place whatſoever, by order of the king and council, without the concurring authority of the laws of the land, or act of parliament. The king beginning to be apprehenſive of this ſpirit in the commons, ſent ſecretary Cook with two ſucceſſive ſoothing meſſages, in conſequence of which they reſolved to grant five ſubſidies; but immediately returned to the old ſubject, and demanded a conference with the upper houſe. Charles ſtill preſſed the affairs of the ſubſidies, in repeated meſſages

mixed with threats; and the court members endeavoured to intimidate the oppoſition, by hinting the danger of the king's being induced to govern altogether without parliaments. The commons were alarmed, not affrighted. They preſented a petition againſt the new method of quartering ſoldiers in private houſes; but, inſtead of anſwering it, he exhorted them to proceed without loſs of time upon the ſupply. Their obſtinacy increaſed in proportion to his impatience. They determined to ſell their ſubſidies for ſome valuable conſideration. They prepared another remonſtrance, intitled, The petition of right, in order to aſcertain the liberties of the ſubject; and ſent it up to the lords for their peruſal and concurrence. The upper houſe propoſed ſome alterations, which the other abſolutely rejected. A. C. 1628. They prepare the petition of right;

The king ſummoned the lords and commons to White-hall, where the lord-keeper, in his name, told them, That his majeſty looked upon the great charter, and the ſix explanatory ſtatutes, as unalterable conſtitutions actually in force: That he would maintain his ſubjects in the liberty of their perſons and eſtates: and, That he would govern according to the laws and ſtatutes of the realm. He aſſured them they would find as much ſecurity in his royal word and promiſe, as in any ſtatute they could enact; and deſired they would unanimouſly concur in diſpatching the principal affair. The commons were not pleaſed with this declaration, which they conſidered as a ſubterfuge to elude their intention. Sir Thomas Wentworth obſerved, That they muſt not only be ſatisfied themſelves, but alſo do ſomething for the ſatisfaction of poſterity; and, that as their laws and liberties had been publicly violated, it was neceſſary to demand a public reparation. They were again importuned by meſſages, and given to underſtand that the ſeſſion ſhould not con-

A. C. 1628. continue a fortnight longer. They ſtill ſtood firm to their purpoſe. The ſpeaker, in his addreſs of thanks to the king for his having declared his intention to rule according to law, deſired to know if he would give his royal aſſent to a bill for the ſecurity of their rights and privileges. The lord-keeper anſwered, in the king's name, That his majeſty's word was better than a bill, which, however, they might prepare, for confirming the great charter and the ſix ſtatutes; but without explanation, addition, or paraphraſe. The petition being drawn up, the commons fixed the time for the payment of the ſubſidies, that the king might have no cauſe to complain of their backwardneſs on that ſubject; and that ſame day ſent the petition to the upper houſe, demanding the concurrence of the lords. In a conference between the two houſes, the lord-keeper produced a letter from the king to the peers, declaring his reſolution to forbear for the future from impriſoning any perſon on account of his refuſing to lend money, or for any other cauſe that did not immediately affect the public weal. He likewiſe promiſed that the cauſe of impriſonment ſhould be always ſpecified; and the party admitted to bail, according to the laws of the kingdom. As the lower houſe took no notice of this letter, the lords propoſed an additional clauſe to the petition; but the commons rejecting it, they did not inſiſt upon its being admitted. Then the two houſes reſolved to preſent the petition, and beſeech his majeſty to vouchſafe an anſwer in full parliament, that it might be regiſtered as a fundamental conſtitution. It contained an enumeration of the ſtatutes which had been lately violated; and an humble prayer, That no man for the future ſhould be compelled to yield any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax without an act of parliament: That none ſhould be confined, moleſted, or diſquieted for

for the refusal thereof: That his majesty would be A. C. 1628.
pleased to remove the soldiers and mariners who were quartered upon private persons, and never lay such burdens on his people in time to come: That the commissioners for proceeding by martial law might be revoked and annulled; and no such commissions be issued for the future. These they demanded as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of the realm, beseeching his majesty to declare, that the proceedings to the prejudice of his people in any of the premises should not be drawn into consequence or example; and, that he would for the further comfort and safety of his people, declare, That all his officers and ministers should serve him according to the laws and statutes of the realm, as they tendered the honour of his majesty, and the prosperity of the kingdom. This petition being read before the king, his answer was in these words: "The king willeth Rushworth, "that right be done, according to the laws and "customs of the realm, and, that the statutes be "put in due execution, that his subjects may "have no cause to complain of any wrong or op-"pression, contrary to their just rights and liber-"ties, to the preservation whereof he holds him-"self in conscience as much obliged as of his own "prerogative." The commons, dissatisfied with this vague and evasive reply, laid aside the bill of subsidies, and brought the subject of grievances again upon the carpet. It was at this juncture that they passed sentence upon doctor Manwaring, as we have observed above. The king having sent a message to the commons, importing, that he would make no alteration in his answer, and finish the session in a few days, they took it for granted that Buckingham had done them ill offices. Sir John Elliot rising up to speak, was silenced by the speaker, who declared he had the king's particular

A. C. 1625. lar order for that purpoſe. The houſe immediately drew up the following declaration: "That "ſince the beginning of this parliament no mem- "ber had failed in point of reſpect to his majeſty." Then they decreed, in a committee of the whole houſe, that no member ſhould retire, on pain of being committed to the Tower. The ſpeaker, however, being permitted to withdraw, went immediately to the king, and informed him of theſe proceedings. Mean while they deliberated upon a remonſtrance to his majeſty, in which the duke of Buckingham ſhould be accuſed as the principal cauſe of all the misfortunes of the nation. The keeper returned with the king's order to adjourn till next day, when he delivered another meſſage, ſignifying, That his majeſty had no intention to deprive them of their juſt rights, but only to prevent their blaming his council, his paſt conduct, and his miniſters. He deſired they would not proceed upon buſineſs which would require more time than he had allotted; and promiſed that ſhould he and they part in good underſtanding, he would ſoon call them together again, when they might conſider other affairs at their leiſure. Without regarding his promiſe or requeſt, they proceeded with the remonſtrance, and demanded the concurrence of the lords, in beſeeching his majeſty to give a more clear and ſatisfactory anſwer to the petition of right. Charles, thus ſolicited by both houſes, thought proper to comply with their requeſt; and the petition of right being read again in his hearing, he pronounced the uſual form of aſſent, "Let "it be right, as is deſired." This conceſſion was received with loud acclamations and public rejoicings; and the commons could no longer delay the bill of ſubſidies, which was paſſed immediately. Yet their ill humour did not abate.

To which the king gives his aſſent.

If,

If, on one hand, Charles has been taxed with having formed a design to render himself absolute, it must likewise be owned, that the leaders of this parliament seemed bent upon infringing and reducing his undoubted prerogative. This confirmation of their rights and privileges was so well received in all parts of the kingdom, that the demagogues began to fear the king would become popular. They therefore resolved to finish the remonstrance, and insert in it every shadow or suspicion of a grievance, which might help to inspire the subject with hatred and contempt of his sovereign. They discovered an order of the king for the payment of thirty thousand pounds to Sir William Balfour and Sir John Dolbeir, who had raised a body of German cavalry to be transported into England. They examined a commission granted to certain persons, impowering them to devise ways and means for raising money, either by imposition on the people, or otherwise. They set on foot an enquiry into the conduct of the duke of Buckingham; and they had recourse to the article of religion, as the most inflammatory ingredient that could be mingled in their remonstrance. They resolved, That the duke of Buckingham was the cause of all the national disasters, including the growth of popery: and, That Neale and Laud, bishops of Winchester and Bath, were the protectors of Arminianism. All these circumstances were inserted in the remonstrance, together with a minute recapitulation of all the miscarriages by sea and land; and every instance of arbitrary exaction and misconduct, which they imputed to the evil counsels of the duke of Buckingham. The king received this address with the most sensible chagrin; and afterwards gave the lower house to understand, that he would put an end to the session on the twenty-sixth day of the month. The commons forthwith began to prepare A. C. 1628.

another

A. C. 1628. another remonſtrance againſt the king's levying the duties of tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament. They repreſented, That this impoſition was of the nature of other ſubſidies granted by the commons; an hereditary right inherent in the ſubjects, founded upon the antient and original conſtitution of the kingdom, confirmed by divers ſtatutes. They declared, That the exaction of thoſe duties upon merchandiſe, or any other tax, without the conſent of parliament, was a violation of the fundamental liberties of the kingdom, and incongruous with his majeſty's anſwer to the petition of right. The king being made acquainted with the purport of this ſecond remonſtrance, repaired to the houſe of peers, and ſent for the commons. He reminded both houſes of their having proteſted, in their petition of right, that they had no intention to encroach upon his prerogative, which was not indeed in their power. He now declared, That in his anſwer to the petition, he did not mean to grant any new privilege to his people: nor would he part with the tonnage and poundage, which was one of the chief ſupports of his crown. Then he gave his aſſent to the bill of ſubſidies, and prorogued the parliament to the twentieth day of October.

Prorogation of parliament.

Ruſhworth.

After their diſmiſſion, he recalled the copies of Manwaring's ſermon, which had given ſuch offence, and ordered ſome Jeſuits to be impriſoned; but, on the other hand, he eſtabliſhed a commiſſion for compounding with popiſh recuſants. Weſton, a profeſſed papiſt, was created lord high-treaſurer, and afterwards earl of Portland; Laud was tranſlated to the biſhopric of London, and Montague, author of the appeal to Cæſar, was promoted to the ſee of Chicheſter. A conſiderable armament had been equipped for the relief of Rochelle, which was now cloſely beſieged. The

earl

*VILLERS* Duke of *BUCKINGHAM*.

earl of Denbigh had ſailed thither; but neglected to attack the French fleet, and returned with diſhonour. In order to wipe out this ſtain, the duke of Buckingham reſolved to take the command upon himſelf, and repaired to Portſmouth, where the fleet and forces were already prepared for the expedition. On the feſtival of St. Bartholomew, in the morning, the duke had been in earneſt converſation with Monſieur de Soubize, and ſome other French gentlemen, who uſed ſuch geſticulations in ſpeaking, according to the cuſtom of their country, that the by-ſtanders, who did not underſtand the French language, imagined they ſpoke with great animoſity. Immediately after this diſcourſe, Buckingham, in going to another apartment, turned about in the paſſage to ſpeak with Sir Thomas Fryar. In this poſture he was ſtabbed by an unſeen hand, that left a knife ſticking in his breaſt. He exclaimed "The villain "hath killed me!" and drawing the inſtrument from the wound, dropped dead upon the floor. The houſe was immediately filled with tumult and conſternation. The French gentlemen were immediately ſeized upon ſuſpicion of having perpetrated the murder, becauſe they had been heard to expoſtulate with ſuch vivacity. Near the door was found an hat, within which appeared a paper, inſcribed with four or five lines of the remonſtrance, declaring the duke of Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and underneath were ſome ſhort ejaculations. No body doubted that this hat belonged to the aſſaſſin, who was ſeen walking before the gate with great compoſure; and at once confeſſed himſelf the author of the deed. Some of the duke's officers drew their ſwords, in order to ſacrifice him on the ſpot, and he ſtood with open arms to receive his fate: but

A.C. 1628.

Duke of Buckingham aſſaſſinated at Portſmouth.

A. C. 1628. but they were prevented from executing their purpose by the interposition of others, who prudently suggested that he might make very material discoveries. His name was Felton, a gentleman by birth, who had served as lieutenant in the expedition to the isle of Rhé; and his captain being slain, solicited the command of the company, which the duke bestowed upon another person. Felton considered his disappointment as an affront and injury which could not be redressed. It made a deep impression on his mind, which was of a gloomy cast. He quitted the service, became a fanatic in religion; and when the commons published their remonstrance, he looked upon it as an act of duty to destroy the person whom they declared the author of every national calamity. This reflexion, cooperating with his revenge, produced the most desperate enthusiasm, under the influence of which he repaired to Portsmouth, where he easily found an opportunity of executing his purpose among the croud of people who had daily access to the duke's apartments. He declared that no person was privy to his design, which was formed purely on conscientious motives; and he seemed to think he had done his country signal service; but afterwards, at his trial he expressed great contrition and abhorrence of his guilt. The king was then at Southwick, in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth; and being at prayers when Sir John Hippesley entered the room, and in a whisper made him acquainted with the deplorable fate of his favourite, he received the tidings without change of countenance; but the service was no sooner ended than he retired to his chamber, and gave vent to the most violent transports of sorrow. Such were the natural effects of a warm and friendly disposition: but he had much more cause to rejoice at the death of

of a man, whose life must have been a perpetual cause A. C. 1628.
of distrust and contention between the sovereign and the people. He was a nobleman possessed of every personal accomplishment, whether natural or acquired. His apprehension was quick, and his understanding tolerably cultivated; he was brave, courteous, and liberal; but, fiery, rash, impetuous, overbearing, and so much a slave to his passions, that he scrupled not to sacrifice the interest of the nation to his own private views of resentment. After Buckingham's death, the earl of Lindsey was appointed admiral and commander of the fleet and army destined for the relief of Rochelle; but before he reached the coast of France, the cardinal de Richelieu had built a surprising mole across the mouth of the harbour, which effectually excluded the English succours; so that the inhabitants were obliged to surrender at discretion, even in sight of their allies. Clarendon.

The parliament reassembling in January, a committee of commons was appointed to examine the case of several merchants whose effects had been seized by the officers of the customs, because they refused to pay the duty of tonnage and poundage. The king convening both houses at Whitehall, declared that he had never entertained a thought of enjoying that subsidy otherwise than as a voluntary gift of his people; and desired that all mutual jealousy might be laid aside. In a few days he sent a message to the commons, requesting they would pass the bill of tonnage and poundage; but they pretended the affairs of religion were much more pressing. They complained that the laws were not executed against popish recusants; that, on the contrary, papists were favoured with lucrative employments; that something was daily added to the ceremonies of religion; that Cozens, dean of Durham, had introduced into his church, angels, saints, A. C. 1629.

A. C. 1629 altars, and lighted tapers on Candlemas day; and that Arminianism was greatly encouraged. Notwithstanding repeated messages from the king, urging them to proceed with the bill of tonnage and poundage, they set on foot an inquiry into the cause of these religious grievances. They, in a formal protestation, expressed their belief in the thirty-nine articles, as explained by the doctors of the English church; and their abhorrence of the opinions and doctrines adopted by Jesuits and Arminians. They solicited the king to proclaim a fast; and presented an address, containing a sort of apology for their preferring the affairs of religion to any other article of business, in their deliberations. Buckingham, the great object of their aversion, being now removed, their resentment glowed with double rancour against Laud bishop of London, who, as the king's spiritual director, encouraged all his high notions of the hierarchy and prerogative. He was branded as a superstitious ecclesiastic, chief of the Arminian sect, by whose influence Montague, Cozens, Sibthorp, and Manwaring, had been pardoned and even promoted to bishoprics or rich benefices; and they exclaimed against him as an implacable foe not only to the puritans, but also to the liberty of his country.

Commons enquire into religious grievances.

While the commons were employed in examining these religious grievances, the warehouse of one Rolls, a merchant, and member of the house, was sealed up by the officers of the customs, because he had refused to pay the tonnage and poundage. A process was already instituted in the court of exchequer against those recusants; and now the commons sent a message to the barons of that court, importing, That they had resolved the bill of tonnage and poundage should not be discussed, until the goods should be restored to the proprietors.

The

The officer of the cuſtoms, being queſtioned at the bar of the houſe, declared his majeſty had commanded him to make no other reply, but that the goods were ſeized for duties due to his late majeſty. In a committee of the whole houſe the queſtion was propoſed, Whether they ſhould proceed againſt the officer of the cuſtoms? Violent debates enſued; and Sir John Finch, the ſpeaker, being deſired to put the queſtion to the vote, ſaid he could not comply without diſobeying the king's order. They were immediately adjourned to the twenty-fifth day of February, and afterwards to the ſecond of March, by the king's order. When they met again, the ſame affair was brought upon the carpet: the ſpeaker again refuſed to collect the votes: he declared, in the king's name, that the houſe was adjourned to the tenth day of March, and attempted to withdraw; but was forcibly held in the chair by Holles and Valentine, until the majority had, in a tumultuous manner, paſſed a proteſtation, by which all the favourers of popery and Arminianiſm, all thoſe who adviſed or aſſiſted the king in levying tonnage and poundage before it was granted by parliament, and all perſons ſubmitting to the payment of it, were declared enemies to the ſtate, and traitors to the liberties of England. As the king had nothing to expect from ſuch a ſeſſion, he was not ſorry for this pretence to diſſolve the parliament, and publiſhed a proclamation, ſignifying his intention on this ſubject. Next day nine members of the lower houſe were ſummoned to appear before the council; four of theſe obeyed the citation, and were committed to the Tower, becauſe they refuſed to give an account of what had paſſed in their houſe when the ſpeaker was detained in the chair. The papers of Holles, Elliot, and Selden, were ſeized; and a proclamation iſſued for arreſting the five that did not ap- A. C. 1629.

A. C. 1629. pear. On the tenth day of March the king came to the houſe, and diſſolved the parliament, after a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked the lords for their dutiful and ſubmiſſive behaviour, and declared his reſentment againſt ſome vipers in the lower houſe, who had blinded the eyes of their fellows with the miſt of inſolence and ſedition.

The parliament diſſolved.

Proſecution of the members.

That he might not ſeem to exert a deſpotic power in puniſhing thoſe leaders of the people, he propoſed certain queſtions to the judges; and, according to their anſwers, ordered the attorney-general to raiſe a proceſs againſt the impriſoned members for their violent, unlawful, and ſeditious behaviour in the houſe of commons. Alderman Chambers was proſecuted in the Star-chamber for having ſaid that the merchants were more oppreſſed in England than in Turkey; and condemned to an exorbitant fine, the payment of which reduced him to extreme poverty. Long was ſentenced to pay two thouſand pounds for having violated his oath, in ſitting as a member in the lower houſe, after he had been ſworn ſheriff of Wiltſhire. The impriſoned members in vain demanded the privilege of the Habeas Corpus: they were detained in confinement from March to October; and then the court of King's-bench decreed that they ſhould remain in priſon during the king's pleaſure. Elliot was moreover caſt in a fine of two thouſand pounds, Valentine in one of five hundred, and Holles obliged to pay a thouſand marks. Such arbitrary and unpopular meaſures could not fail to inflame the public diſcontent. The populace murmured openly, and diſperſed libels againſt biſhop Laud, and lord Weſton the treaſurer, as the authors of all thoſe violent counſels. The king publiſhed a long declaration in his own defence, juſtifying the ſteps he had taken, and in particular the diſſolution of the parliament, from the inſolent and ſeditious conduct of the

the members: but this apology had little weight with the nation; the imprisoned members were looked upon as martyrs to the liberties of the people. The dispute was considered as a contest between the crown and the subjects; no wonder therefore that the king's partisans were not the most numerous. Individuals were heard publicly to complain that the king intended to destroy the privileges of parliament; that commerce was ruined, religion in danger, and the kingdom on the brink of slavery, from which nothing could save it but a new parliament. Charles, informed of these clamours, endeavoured to silence them by a proclamation, forbidding all persons to discourse upon the subject of a new parliament; and a satyrical performance appearing, under the title of Advice to the king to bridle the insolence of parliaments, the Star-chamber declared it a seditious libel. A. C. 1629.

Charles finding it impracticable to maintain the war without subsidies, resolved to conclude a peace with France, which was accordingly effected by the mediation of Venice, on condition that the articles of the queen's marriage should be confirmed; and the Huguenots were left to the mercy of their sovereign. Since the beginning of this war France and Spain had acted altogether on the defensive: they knew the disputes between Charles and his parliament would disable him from executing any important scheme to their prejudice; and they would not concert any plan of operation against him, that might unite the kingdom from a sense of common danger: they even dismissed the English prisoners, who had been taken in the inglorious expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé. The peace with France was succeeded by a treaty with Spain, which was next year ratified without any difficulty. The five subsidies, granted by parliament, produced so little, that the king ordered the Peace with France and Spain. Rushworth. Clarendon.

A. C. 1629. tonnage and poundage to be levied with great rigour. The cuſtom houſe officers were impowered to enter houſes, and break open warehouſes, cheſts, and cloſets, to ſearch for goods which had not payed the duty; and, on this pretence of ſearching, they committed numberleſs acts of fraud and oppreſſion. In order to prevent the popular clamours from producing inſurrections, the council iſſued orders for arming and reviewing the militia, that the people might be intimidated by their appearance; while, on the other hand, they were amuſed with public orders for putting the laws in execution againſt papiſts. At the ſame time the king endeavoured to fill his coffers by granting excluſive privileges for the ſale of commodities and proviſions: ſo that the whole kingdom was filled with monopolies, to the

A. C. 1630. unſpeakable prejudice of trade and manufacture. Preſbyterianiſm having made great progreſs in England, the king, by the advice of biſhop Laud, ſent inſtructions to the prelates of the kingdom, enjoining them, among other things, to take eſpecial care that no puritan miniſter ſhould be admitted into the church; and to diſcover all ſuch as ſhould neglect the rites preſcribed in the canons. The preſbyterians conceived the moſt implacable hatred againſt Laud for this and other inſtances of his enmity, and he ſeverely felt their reſentment in the ſequel †.

Guſtavus Adolphus enters Germany, as protector of the proteſtants.

The power of the houſe of Auſtria was now become ſo formidable in Germany, that all the neighbouring potentates were alarmed; and no prince ſeemed ſo well qualified to bridle its ambition as Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden; upon him therefore France and England turned their eyes. He was animated with a deſire to ſupport

† On the twenty-ninth day of May the queen was delivered of a prince, who was baptiſed by the name of Charles.

the

the liberties of the empire; but employed in a war with Poland, which for the preſent hindered him from gratifying that inclination. The diſpute was compromiſed by the mediation of the two crowns. The French court conſidered him as a proper inſtrument to check the growth of a rival power; and Charles of England hoped by his means to effect the reſtoration of the Palatine. He engaged with Guſtavus in a private convention for this purpoſe, and ſupplied him with a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men, commanded by the marquis of Hamilton, in whoſe name they were levied, that the king might ſave appearances with the houſe of Auſtria. The Swede, however, did not perform his engagements: for, after he had obtained ſeveral glorious victories, he refuſed to reſtore the king of Bohemia, except upon ſuch harſh conditions as that prince could not accept with any regard to his honour. Charles, perceiving that he had been duped, withdrew his forces, which had done good ſervice, and recalled Vane, who had accompanied the king of Sweden, in quality of Engliſh ambaſſador.

A.C. 1630.

Engages to reſtore the elector Palatine;

but does not perform his engagement.

Among the methods practiſed by Charles to raiſe money, was that of appointing commiſſioners to compound with thoſe, who though ſummoned at his coronation to come and receive the honour of knighthood, had neglected to appear. In the reign of Edward II. an old cuſtom was enacted into a law, importing, That every man poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year in land, ſhould be knighted: almoſt all the ſucceeding monarchs had put the law in execution. Charles, conſidering the difference of value in money between that reign and the preſent time, ſummoned thoſe only whoſe yearly rent amounted to forty pounds: yet even this mitigation was deemed a hardſhip, becauſe the value of twenty pounds, in the days of Edward, was equal to four times the ſum in the reign of Charles. A great

Ruſhworth.

A. C. 1631. number had therefore refuſed to obey the mandate, and theſe were now fined for their diſobedience. A conſiderable ſum was likewiſe exacted by way of compoſition from thoſe who declined the order. This was likewiſe a ſubject of diſcontent, though not ſo inflammatory as the conduct of Laud with reſpect to religion. That prelate, tho' irreproachable in his morals, was, either from ſuperſtition or hatred to the puritans, inflexibly attached to certain idle ceremonies, which gave infinite offence to all the fanatics in England. Theſe appeared as flagrant innovations, at the conſecration of St. Catharine's church. When he approached the weſt door, a loud voice was heard, exclaiming, "Open, open, "ye everlaſting doors, that the king of glory may "enter in!" The gates were inſtantly thrown open: when the biſhop entering, fell on his knees; and with his eyes and hands up-raiſed, exclaimed, "This place is holy, the ground is holy; in the "name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I "pronounce it holy." In his way to the chancel he ſeveral times took up an handful of duſt, and threw it in the air; he bowed frequently at the communion-table; he, with his attendants, walked in proceſſion around the church, ſinging pſalms: he repeated a form of prayer, and pronounced theſe words with a loud voice, "We conſecrate this "church; and ſeparate it unto thee as holy ground, "not to be profaned by common uſes." Standing by the communion-table, he ſolemnly anathematized all who ſhould pollute that ſacred place; and poured forth benedictions upon thoſe who had contributed to build and adorn the edifice. In the cloſe of every curſe and bleſſing he bowed towards the eaſt, and cried, "Let all the people ſay Amen." After the ſermon he proceeded to adminiſter the ſacrament: in advancing to the communion-table he made ſeveral genuflexions, and bowed ſeven times

Laud's attachment to ſuperſtitious ceremonies.

times very low to the bread and wine. Having lifted up the corner of a cloth that covered the Euchariſt, he dropped it ſuddenly; and, retreating three paces, bowed three times almoſt to proſtration. Then he advanced again, uncovered the bread, and made another profound reverence. The ſame ceremonies were obſerved in uncovering and taking up the cup that held the wine; and he himſelf having communicated, adminiſtered the ſacrament to ſome of the by-ſtanders. One would imagine Laud had practiſed this mummery, which was copied from a Roman pontifical, on purpoſe to exaſperate the people; for he knew that no ſuch ceremonies had been performed in the Engliſh church ſince the reformation; and he could not be ſo weak as to believe this grimace eſſential to religion. Whatever were his motives, certain it is he was a very improper perſon to be at the head of the church at this juncture, and a very pernicious ſpiritual guide to the king, whoſe conſcience he ruled with the moſt deſpotic authority. Poſſeſſed of this pre-eminence he diſregarded the clamours of the people, and ſet his enemies at defiance. Three doctors in theology at Oxford having preached againſt Arminianiſm, were expelled from the univerſity; and others, who undertook to defend them, were by his influence deprived of their places. While the adminiſtration of the hierarchy was left to his charge, he and his adherents humoured the king in his high notions of the prerogative, of which, however, they reſolved to render the eccleſiaſtical power altogether independent. The ſacerdotal character was repreſented as ſacred and indefeaſible. Eccleſiaſtical courts were held by the biſhops in their own names, without any reference or regard to the regal authority: and Charles winked at theſe encroachments in a ſet of men who ſeemed, in all other reſpects, implicitly devoted to his crown and perſon. A. C. 1632. Ruſhworth.

He

A. C. 1632. He continued to ſell patents under the great ſeal. He erected a company of ſoap-makers: he derived a conſiderable advantage from ſtamping cards; and even granted an excluſive privilege to a monopoly of rag-merchants. He iſſued a proclamation, commanding all noblemen, gentlemen, eccleſiaſtics, and others, to retire in forty days to the different places of their reſidence, that they might not conſume their means unprofitably in London, unleſs they had particular buſineſs in that capital; and thoſe who diſobeyed his order, the Star-chamber ſummoned and fined in large ſums for the uſe of his majeſty. He, at the ſame time, appointed commiſſioners to puniſh thoſe who had augmented London with new buildings, in contempt of former prohibitions. London itſelf was condemned in a fine of fifteen hundred marks, for having neglected to take cognizance of the death of one Lamb, a ſuppoſed conjurer, who had been maltreated by the populace. While the ſtate puritans were perſecuted by the Star-chamber and other courts of juſtice, the high commiſſion and biſhops courts kept a ſevere hand over the preſbyterians, who ſeemed to thrive under the rod of correction. Being generally fanatics, they were eaſily provoked to ſome inordinate ſallies of enthuſiaſm, that furniſhed pretence for the ſeverities they underwent both in perſon and eſtate. Sherfield, recorder of Saliſbury, was fined in five hundred pounds by the Star-chamber, becauſe he had broke a pane of glaſs in a window of St. Edmund's church, where the hiſtory of the creation was painted, and God the Father repreſented in the form of an old man. This picture, which was executed in a wretched manner, gave offence to Sherfield; who, with the conſent of the veſtry, employed a glazier to remove it. In giving directions, he broke one of the panes with his ſtaff, and was immediately proſecuted by the Attorney-general, for having,

The puritans treated with rigour.

ing, contrary to the canons, presumed to make an alteration in a church, without a special licence from the ordinary. A. C. 1632.

These instances of rigour could not fail to irritate the people, and even alienate the minds of many from the church that practised such severity; and yet the church of England is of all others the most charitable and averse to cruelty and persecution, but few persons were qualified to make proper distinctions between the principles and tenets of the church, and the characters of individual pastors. Charles, in order to weaken the spirit of democracy, endeavoured to disunite the councils of the demagogues, and actually gained over to his interest Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had been one of the principal leaders of the opposition. He soon became one of the most zealous partisans of the regal power; and, at last, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy and resentment of that house whose deliberations he had so greatly influenced. In the mean time, the king created him president of the council of the North, a court of judicature established at York in the reign of Henry VIII. for the relief of poor suitors in the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric of Durham, who could not afford to bring their causes into the courts of Westminster. This court, being entirely conducted by the king's private instructions, without any other dependence, degenerated into a terrible grievance; insomuch that, in a subsequent parliament, Mr. Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, declared to the house of lords, that of fifty-eight articles of instructions, there was not one that did not either contradict or transgress the laws of the realm. The king, having now governed the nation three or four years without a parliament, began to find himself more at ease than he had ever been since his accession to the throne. His revenue now flowed

Sir Thomas Wentworth made president of the North.

in

A. C. 1632. in certain channels. The commons became habituated to thoſe impoſitions, againſt which they had exclaimed as the acts of arbitrary power; and tho' individuals were occaſionally handled with rigour, the people in general found themſelves rich and eaſy under his adminiſtration. Juſtice was upon the whole impartially diſtributed. Charles, in his private character, exhibited a ſhining example of virtue, piety, and moderation. Malice muſt own he was chaſte, temperate, and devout; an affectionate huſband, a tender parent, a warm friend, and a kind maſter. He paid too much deference to the opinions and ſolicitations of the queen, who, though an accompliſhed princeſs, was bigotted to her religion, and violent in her counſels.

A. C. 1633. The king's journey to Scotland.

In this ſeaſon of tranquility he reſolved to viſit his ancient kingdom of Scotland, where he was accordingly crowned with great magnificence; and the parliament, being aſſembled at Edinburgh, granted a larger ſubſidy than ever had been given to any other king of that realm. The Engliſh money had by this time found its way into Scotland, and the nobles of that country even vied with the Engliſh courtiers in the ſplendor of their equipage and entertainments. Charles inherited his father's deſign of bringing religion in Scotland to a conformity with the Engliſh church: and biſhop Laud accompanied him in this journey, to facilitate the execution of the ſcheme. As a preparatory ſtep, he paſſed two acts in the Scottiſh parliament, the firſt intitled, An act concerning the king's prerogative, and the habit of the clergy. This was no other than the confirmation of a ſtatute enacted in the preceding reign, impowering the king to give ſuch directions as he ſhould think proper, with regard to the dreſs of the clergy. The other ratified and approved all the ſtatutes which had been made concerning the liberties and franchiſes of the true church of God, and of the

the religion at preſent profeſſed in the kingdom. Both theſe acts met with oppoſition from the preſbyterians: they looked upon the firſt as a prelude to the uſe of the ſurplice, which was an abomination in their eyes; and the words "at preſent profeſſed," they conſidered as an equivocal expreſſion, calculated to reſtore epiſcopal government. Their church was governed by provincial ſynods and general aſſemblies; but the biſhops ſtill ſubſiſted, though without the leaſt juriſdiction or influence. The bills were paſſed, but they produced heats and diſcontent in the nation. A. C. 1633. Rushworth.

The Scottiſh religioniſts were not miſtaken in their conjectures. The king's purpoſe was really to introduce the rites of the Engliſh church, and re-eſtabliſh epiſcopacy in its former power and ſplendor. Biſhop Laud preached in the royal chapel at Edinburgh on the benefit of conformity, and the reverend ceremonies of the church. He propoſed to the Scottiſh biſhops that the Engliſh liturgy ſhould be received into their ſervice. They objected to this propoſal, that ſuch a ſtep would alarm the jealouſy of the nation, which would be apt to look upon the Engliſh liturgy as the fore-runner of Engliſh laws, and an encroachment upon the independency of the kingdom. They therefore deſired that another might be compoſed for the uſe of the Scotiſh church, that ſhould be the ſame in ſubſtance, but different in ſome immaterial particulars. The king embraced this advice, though contrary to the inclination of Laud. He was himſelf jealous of the independency of his native kingdom; and appointed a ſelect number of the Scottiſh biſhops to form a new liturgy for their own ſervice. He erected Edinburgh into a biſhopric; created the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's chancellor of the kingdom; he admitted ſeveral other prelates to ſeats in the privy-council, and in the college of juſtice; a very unſeaſonable

He reſolves to reſtore epiſcopacy in that kingdom.

A. C. 1633. seasonable mark of his regard for the hierarchy; for the bishops, by this promotion, incurred the hatred and envy of the noblemen, who, though they respected them in their ecclesiastical capacities, could not bear to see them in civil stations, to which they themselves thought they had a better title. Clarendon.

Laud succeeds Abbot in the see of Canterbury.

Abbot archbishop of Canterbury, dying immediately after the king's return to England, was succeeded in his metropolitan function by Laud, who now thought it incumbent upon him to inforce those ceremonies which he could not fully establish during the life of his predecessor. A strange oath had been imposed upon church-wardens, by which they obliged themselves to inform against all persons who should fail in any part of the duty that the church prescribed, as specified in a set of instructions drawn up for their direction. The presbyterians having expressed an aversion to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other vulgar festivals, partly from a gloomy disposition natural to that sect, and partly from moral considerations, as those scenes were often productive of intemperance and irregularity; the king was persuaded to renew the proclamation of his father touching those wakes and the diversions on Sunday, which had been recommended in the book of sports*. The dean and chapter of St. Paul's removed the communion-table of St. Gregory's church, adjoining to that cathedral, from the middle of the choir to the east-end of the church, where it was railed in, under the denomination of the altar, as in cathedrals and the king's chapel. They alledged that while it stood in the middle of the choir it was exposed to scandalous indecencies from people who slept upon it during the sermon.

* In this year the queen bore a second son called James, afterwards created duke of York. The elector Palatine and his brother arrived in England; and one Parr was presented to the king, in perfect health, at the age of one hundred and fifty-two.

This

*PRYNNE.*

This reaſon did not prove ſatisfactory to the pariſh: they proſecuted the dean and chapter in the ſpiritual court; and the council ordered the judge of the arches to confirm the alteration. The king afterwards examined this affair in council, and approved the ſentence by which the judgment of the court had been anticipated. The like diſputes aroſe in many other pariſhes; and the high commiſſion court did not fail to puniſh thoſe miniſters who were ſuſpected of puritanical principles. A. C. 1633.

William Prynn, a barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn, and a four inſolent puritan, compoſed a voluminous work, entitled, Hiſtrio-Maſtyx, on purpoſe to decry ſtage-plays, balls, and maſquerades; interſperſing in his book ſome virulent reflections, which ſeemed levelled at the king, queen, and hierarchy. Being proſecuted in the Star-chamber, his book was condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman: the author was expelled from the bar, degraded from the degree he had received at Oxford, deprived of his ears in the pillory, ſentenced to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds to the king, and to undergo perpetual impriſonment. The printer was caſt in a fine of five hundred pounds; and Abbot's chaplain, who had licenſed it, was obliged to pay fifty. Theſe ſevere proceedings were intended to mortify the preſbyterian party, which, though numerous, was extremely odious to the king and his miniſters, the privy-council, the Star-chamber, the high commiſſion, the prelates, the generality of the nobles, judges, and juſtices of the peace, thro' the whole kingdom. Archbiſhop Laud was the profeſſed enemy not only of the Britiſh preſbyterians, but likewiſe of the Dutch, Walloon, and French refugees, who had been formed into different congregations in England, ſince the reign of Edward VI. with liberty to celebrate divine ſervice in their own forms. All the members of thoſe congregations, A. C. 1634.

Severities exerciſed againſt Prynn and other puritans.

A. C. 1634. who had been born in the kingdom, were now enjoined to conform with the Engliſh worſhip; and thoſe who were foreigners by birth, and therefore allowed to follow their own diſcipline, received orders to uſe the Engliſh liturgy tranſlated into the French and Flemiſh languages, that their children might be taught in time to ſubmit to the government. In vain did they plead their privileges granted and confirmed by four ſucceſſive monarchs. In vain did they implore the archbiſhop's protection; he gave them to underſtand, that the king was determined to be obeyed; and that he would proſecute the recuſants according to the laws and conſtitutions of the church.

A. C. 1635. Ship-money exacted. The tax called ſhip-money had been exacted from the maritime towns, in order to equip a fleet for the protection of trade; and the city of London having been taxed at ſeven veſſels, the mayor and common-council preſented a petition to his majeſty, repreſenting, that by ancient privileges, conceſſions, and acts of parliament, they conceived themſelves exempted from all ſuch impoſitions: but, notwithſtanding their pretenſions, the king perſiſted in his reſolution. He even extended it through the inland parts of the kingdom, on pretence of the nation's being in danger from a league concluded between France and the United Provinces. As the orders for levying this tax were altogether arbitrary, and in direct oppoſition to the king's declaration concerning the petition of right, ſeveral perſons refuſed to contribute, and ſome inſtituted proceſſes againſt the collectors, for being concerned in an illegal impoſition. The king reſolved to proſecute his undertaking, after having obtained the ſanction of the judges, who being conſulted on the ſubject, decided in favour of the prerogative. He at the ſame time renewed the commiſſion for confirming the defective titles of thoſe who poſſeſſed crown-lands; and

Ruſhworth.

and such objections were made against all their deeds, that they were fain to compound for sums of money, otherwise their possessions would have been reannexed to the crown. That a pretence might not be wanting for levying the tax of ship-money all over the kingdom, Charles published a proclamation, forbidding all foreigners to fish on the coasts of Britain, and the adjacent isles, without his special permission. He alluded to the Dutch herring-fishery, in defence of which Grotius wrote his famous treatise, intitled, Mare liberum; and this was answered by Selden, in a performance known by the name of Mare clausum. A. C. 1636.

The king, without regarding such discussions, equipped a fleet, and bestowed the command of it upon the earl of Northumberland, who attacked the fishing vessels, some of which were sunk, and the rest retiring into the ports of England, paid thirty thousand florins for the liberty to fish during that season. He likewise raised a considerable sum, by establishing a commission to inquire and discover those who had, contrary to law, converted their arable lands into pasturage. Sir Anthony Roger was for this fault condemned by the Star-chamber in such an excessive fine, as terrified all the other delinquents into immediate composition. Charles finding many persons still refractory with regard to the payment of ship-money, published the decision of the judges, who declared, that in case of national danger, the king was impowered to levy a tax for the defence of the kingdom; and that he alone was the judge of that danger, as well as of the time and manner in which it ought to be averted. Notwithstanding this opinion, John Hambden, being taxed in twenty shillings for an estate which he possessed in Buckinghamshire, resolved to stand suit, rather than comply with an imposition so contrary to the laws of the realm, and the liberties of the subject. Famous process of John Hambden.

A. C. 1636. The cauſe was pleaded in the court of Exchequer before all the judges, with great ſolemnity, and was undoubtedly the moſt important diſpute that ever was handled in any court of juſtice; for the buſineſs was to aſcertain or deſtroy one of the moſt valuable privileges of the ſubject: as ſuch it was conſidered by every ſenſible individual in the nation. It became the univerſal topic of converſation; and people expected the iſſue with the moſt anxious impatience. After ſeveral hearings, protracted from November till June, the judges decreed that Mr. Hambden ſhould pay the tax; and the whole kingdom was filled with indignation. Burton a divine, and Baſtwick a phyſician, were condemned by the Star-chamber to the ſame puniſhment which Prynne had undergone, for having publiſhed ſeditious and ſchiſmatical libels; and Prynne himſelf for a ſecond offence was ſentenced to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds, and loſe the remainder of his ears.

A. C. 1637. The king was not ſo much ingroſſed by theſe meaſures as to neglect the deſign he had formed of altering the ſtate of religion in Scotland. The biſhops of that country employed to compoſe a liturgy, had begun with a book of canons; and this having been approved by Laud, the king ſent it back to Scotland, as the ſtandard of church-diſcipline. The pretence uſed for introducing this book was, that the acts of the general aſſembly were not in print; and could not therefore be known to the people. Nothing could be more abſurd than the conduct of Charles in this whole affair. The canons, through a groſs overſight of thoſe who compiled them, injoined conformity with the new liturgy, which was not yet compoſed; they were recommended as an abridgment of eccleſiaſtical acts; and ſuppoſe the hierarchy and juriſdiction of biſhops in full force, though, for fifty years after the reformation, the general aſſemblies had al-

JOHN HAMDEN.

always condemned and rejected episcopacy; and in all their acts avowed a presbyterian government. A. C. 1637. The liturgy being prepared, the king sent orders for reading it on Easter-day in all the churches at Edinburgh; but the earl of Traquair, treasurer for Scotland, representing that dangerous consequences might ensue, should the populace be surprised with it before they were prepared for its reception, the ceremony was postponed till the twenty-third day of July, when the chancellor, attended by the council, some bishops, the lords of the session, and the magistrates of the city, repaired to the cathedral to see the king's order put in execution. The dean had no sooner opened the book, and begun to read, than the populace that were in the church interrupted him with loud clamour and execrations, so as that he could not be heard. The bishop of Edinburgh mounting the pulpit, in order to appease them with mild remonstrances, was saluted with the same cries and curses, and a shower of stones and sticks, by which his life was endangered. The chancellor and the judges were treated with the same insolence and disrespect. At length, the magistrates of the city found means to expel the outrageous people; and the doors being locked, the service was performed, though not without continual interruption from the enraged multitude in the street. They still continued to revile the service, and threaten the prelates; they broke the church windows with stones and other missiles; and when the bishop of Edinburgh came forth, it was with great difficulty that he escaped assassination. The other churches of the city were filled with the like tumults, in which, however, no person of any rank seemed to have the least concern. A great concourse of people resorting to Edinburgh in the month of October, the council began to fear another riot, and published proclamations, signifying, That

Tumults at Edinburgh on account of the liturgy.

A. C. 1637. the council would be transferred to Dundee; commanding all ſtrangers to quit the city; and prohibiting a book written againſt the Engliſh and popiſh ceremonies impoſed upon the church of Scotland. Next day, the populace beſieged the place where the council was aſſembled, demanding, with dreadful imprecations, that the biſhop of Galloway might be delivered into their hands. At the ſame time, they blocked up the magiſtrates in the town-houſe: and in a petition deſired that the liturgy might be ſuppreſſed; and that certain popular miniſters, who had been ſilenced for their turbulence and ſeditious behaviour, ſhould be reſtored to their functions. The earl of Traquair was overturned in the ſtreet, the mutitude exclaiming, "God confound the li-"turgy and all thoſe who maintain it." At length they diſperſed, at the intreaties of ſome burghers, to whom they paid a particular regard; and were forbid by another proclamation to reaſſemble in the ſtreets. Far from being intimidated by ſuch mandates, they loudly demanded that their miniſters ſhould be reſtored. A petition was preſented to the chancellor, in the name of all the inhabitants of Edinburgh, men, women, children, and ſervants; and another by the noblemen, gentlemen, and burghers, againſt the liturgy and the canons. The pulpits reſounded with exclamations againſt them, as the preludes to popery and arbitrary power. The biſhops were reviled as the miniſters of ſatan, antichriſt, and corruption; and the populace compared to Balaam's aſs, whoſe mouth the Lord had opened. The king, informed of theſe diſturbances, inſtead of taking proper meaſures to allay the ferment of the nation, ordered his miniſters in Scotland to publiſh an ambiguous proclamation, declaring his abhorrence of popiſh ſuperſtition, and his intention to introduce nothing but what ſhould tend to the advancement of the religion at preſent profeſſed in his kingdom of Scotland. He afterwards

wards sent another to the council, which had been removed to Stirling, signifying his being willing to pardon the crime which the people had committed, in assembling, composing, signing, and presenting, such petitions to the chancellor, provided they would retire to their own houses, and live for the future as good and faithful subjects. He forbade them to assemble again, on pain of treason; ordained, that no person should presume to approach Stirling without permission; and commanded all noblemen, gentlemen, and others, not belonging to the council or courts of justice, to quit that town in six hours, otherwise they should be declared traitors. A. C. 1638.

Nothing could be better calculated for inflaming and exasperating that spirit of discontent and animosity, which had taken possession of the people. The commonality were averse to episcopal government from religious principles: but the noblemen and landholders were influenced by more carnal motives. They knew the king's attachment to the clergy; they had seen his late effort to restore them to their antient power and dignity; they dreaded a resumption of the crown-lands; they could not bear to see prelates introduced into the highest offices of the state; and they were inspired with a national jealousy of all innovations from England. To these, some among them added conscientious considerations; but religion was the universal pretext. The presbyterian ministers were used as tools on this occasion, to foment the popular fanaticism, by alarming their minds with the fears of popery, calumniating the bishops, and expatiating upon the chains of religious slavery that were forging for the nation. Immediately after the last proclamation was published at Stirling, the earl of Hume and lord Lindsay, accompanied by many other noblemen, and a great concourse of people, repaired to the

The Scots publish a protestation against the canons and liturgy.

A. C. 1638. the market-croſs, and, without regarding the preſence and authority of the council, read publicly a proteſt, importing, That they would preſent their grievances to the king: That they could not ſubmit to the biſhops as judges, until they ſhould have acquitted themſelves of the crimes laid to their charge: That no proclamation or act of council, reſolved upon in preſence of thoſe prelates, ſhould prejudice the proteſters: That none of their aſſociates ſhould be expoſed to any danger in their lives and fortunes, nor incur any penalty civil or eccleſiaſtical, for having refuſed to acquieſce in the ſaid acts, books, canons, rites, juriſdictions, and proclamations, compoſed and publiſhed contrary to the decrees of the general aſſembly, or againſt the laws of the realm: That, in caſe this diſpute ſhould produce any diſorder, it ſhould not be imputed to them; inaſmuch as the council refuſed to receive a remonſtrance and declinatory, which they had lately preſented; and, that their petitions tended to nothing but the maintenance of the true religion in Scotland, and to the honour of his majeſty. The ſame proclamation was read at Linlithgow and Edinburgh.

Their next ſtep was to eſtabliſh a council for the direction of their affairs. They erected four offices or tables, conſiſting of the noblemen, the gentlemen, the boroughs, and the miniſters. From theſe they elected deputies, to form a general table or council to take reſolutions according to the inſtructions received from their conſtituents. The whole authority of the kingdom was now lodged in theſe tables; and all their reſolutions were executed with the utmoſt regularity. The firſt important tranſaction was their forming the ſolemn league and covenant, which was no other than an aſſociation of the people, expreſſing their deteſtation and abhorrence of all innovations in religion; binding themſelves by

They ſubſcribe the ſolemn league and covenant.

a solemn oath to defend the presbyterian doctrines, with their lives and fortunes; and, declaring they would employ their whole power to defend his majesty's person and authority, in maintaining the religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom against all persons whatsoever. This obligation recapitulated the confession of faith, which had been signed by the late king in two different periods of his reign; and was the more dangerous, as it implied a sort of independence of the regal authority, by restricting the loyalty of the associates to certain conditional limits. It was no sooner published than the people ran in crowds to subscribe it; and it was signed by almost all the persons of consequence in the kingdom, except the privy-counsellors, the judges, the bishops, and those who enjoyed places under the crown: so that it may be very fairly deemed a national effort in defence of religious liberty. It must be owned at the same time, that such an association was illegal and seditious, and the very intent of it contrary to the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, which had been recognized in the assembly of Glasgow, as well as to successive acts of parliament, by which, during the last forty years, episcopacy had been re-established and confirmed in Scotland. The covenanters pleaded, That the recognition had been obtained by compulsion: and, That those acts of parliament were imposed by arbitrary power, without the consent of the clergy, and in diametrical opposition to the sense of the nation. A. C. 1638.

The king, notwithstanding these disorders, still persisted in his design to introduce the liturgy and canons, and sent the marquis of Hamilton to represent his person in Scotland, under the title of high commissioner, hoping that nobleman had interest and industry enough to reduce the malcontents to obedience, without giving them any material satis- Marquis of Hamilton sent high-commissioner to Scotland.

A. C. 1638. faction in their pretended grievances. The tables foreseeing a storm, began to prepare for their own defence. They endeavoured to seize a ship-load of arms sent by the king to be deposited in the castle of Edinburgh; but, being disappointed, they set a guard upon that fortress, to prevent their being introduced: at the same time, they imported a provision of the like nature for their own use. The commissioner arriving in Scotland, demanded, that they should renounce the covenant, return to their obedience, and let the king know what they desired for their satisfaction. They insisted upon a general assembly and a free parliament; declared they had never deviated from their obedience, and that they would rather renounce their baptism than the covenant. The marquis published a proclamation, in which the king assured his subjects of Scotland, That he had no design to introduce innovations: That no step should be taken contrary to the laws: and, That he would convoke a general assembly and parliament as soon as his convenience would permit. The covenanters answered, in a public protestation, That a simple proclamation was no security for the redress of their grievances: That the bishops were still left at liberty to practise those innovations of which they complained: and, That the laws to which the king promised to conform, were such as constituted their oppression. The commissioner having informed himself of the state of affairs in Scotland, thought it incumbent upon him to communicate his observations to the king in person. He therefore repaired to London, and in a little time returned to Edinburgh, vested with power to convoke a parliament and general assembly. But, before he would agree to the convocation of an assembly, he proposed eleven articles of restriction, which, upon their remaining obstinate, were reduced to two conditions, namely,

That

That no lay-man ſhould vote in the election of the miniſters deputed to the aſſembly; and that the aſſembly ſhould not determine any thing but by way of remonſtrance, according to acts of parliament. Theſe the covenanters reſiſted with diſdain, ſignifying their deſign of convoking a general aſſembly, even without the king's permiſſion. The marquis reſolved to make another journey to court, and in the mean time obtained a promiſe from them, that they would not proceed to the election of members till the twentieth day of September. In this interval, however, they took ſuch precautions as ſecured an aſſembly fit for their purpoſes. A. C. 1638.

When the commiſſioner returned, he publiſhed a proclamation, importing, That the king revoked the liturgy, the book of canons, the high commiſſion, and the five articles of Perth: That, for the future, the biſhops ſhould be cenſurable by the general aſſembly: and, That all the ſubjects of Scotland ſhould ſubſcribe the confeſſion of faith, with an oath annexed, very different from that of the covenant. Then he convoked a general aſſembly at Glaſgow for the month of November, and a parliament at Edinburgh, to meet in May of the following year. The tables proteſted againſt the proclamation, becauſe the new oath, in obliging them to maintain the religion at preſent profeſſed, would operate in favour of the innovations which had been confirmed by acts of parliament. An accuſation, ſigned by a great number of noblemen, gentlemen, miniſters, and burghers, was preſented to the preſbytery of Edinburgh againſt the biſhops, alledging, That they had not adhered to the conditions on which the general aſſembly at Montroſe in the preceding reign, conſented to their being admitted to parliament. By thoſe they were obliged to act only as deputies of the church: to propoſe nothing without the expreſs order of the church: to conſent to nothing His majeſty revokes the liturgy, &c.

A. C. 1638. nothing but what ſhould be for the advantage of the church, on pain of deprivation: and, to be accountable to the general aſſembly for their conduct in parliament. When the day of meeting arrived, the commiſſioner plainly perceived that the lay-intereſt predominated in the aſſembly, in the number of elders and aſſeſſors that were returned; and all that he could do for the ſervice of the king, was to encourage and promote diſputes that would furniſh him with a pretence to diſſolve them. The biſhops preſented a declinatory, pronouncing the aſſembly null; and the commiſſioner entered a great number of proteſts againſt their proceedings. At length, finding them determined to ſit in judgment upon the biſhops, he, on the ſeventh day of their ſeſſion, diſſolved the aſſembly as illegal, becauſe they had introduced lay-elders to vote in their deliberations; becauſe the members had been choſen by lay-elders, contrary to cuſtom; becauſe thoſe few members to whom the tables were averſe had been rejected without reaſon; and the biſhops were in danger of being tried by thoſe who were their profeſſed enemies.

General aſſembly at Glaſgow diſſolved by the commiſſioner.

Notwithſtanding this ſentence of diſſolution, the aſſembly of Glaſgow continued itſelf by virtue of its own authority, and paſſed acts by which they not only condemned the liturgy, canons, and high commiſſion, excommunicated fourteen biſhops, and abjured epiſcopal government; but they likewiſe preſumed to reverſe divers acts of parliament in favour of epiſcopacy, and to annul the ſubſcriptions of thoſe who had ſigned the confeſſion of faith according to the king's order: nay, they even explained that confeſſion as virtually, implying an abolition of epiſcopacy. The commiſſioner publiſhed another explanation, to prove that epiſcopacy did ſubſiſt, and that every perſon who ſigned the commiſſion was bound to ſupport it; and this again was anſwered by the aſſembly.

But continue themſelves, and abjure epiſcopacy.

Nalſon. Ruſhworth.

The

A. C. 1639. The king resolves to reduce them by force of arms.

The king was no sooner informed of their presumption, than he resolved to reduce them by force of arms. He summoned the nobility to a rendezvous at York, on the first day of April, ordering each individual to bring thither what number of cavalry he could raise. He, by means of archbishop Laud, obtained a large contribution from the clergy; and the catholics, exhorted and animated by the queen, were very liberal on this occasion. The command of a fleet, consisting of sixteen large ships, was conferred upon the marquis of Hamilton. The king set out for York on the seventh day of April, and found his army amounted to near twenty thousand men, besides five thousand soldiers on board of the fleet, his own guards, and the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle. The covenanters, far from being idle, had been before-hand with his majesty in their preparations. They had received supplies of arms, officers, artillery, and ammunition from Sweden, Germany, and Holland; and they established a correspondence with the puritans of England, without whose advice they took no step of importance. Charles, not without reason, taxed them with rebellion; and they endeavoured to persuade the English nation that they had taken up arms solely in defence of their religious liberties. They represented themselves as their brethren in distress; and exhorted them to seize this opportunity of vindicating their country from oppression. In order to convince the world of their pacific intentions, they scrupulously obeyed the king's proclamation, forbidding them to march within ten miles of the English border; and he believing their submission in this particular was the effect of their fear, sent another proclamation to Edinburgh, commanding them to lay down their arms, on pain of being declared guilty of high treason, yet offering a pardon to those who should return to their duty: but the magi-

A. C. 1639. magiſtrates of Edinburgh would not ſuffer this mandate to be publiſhed.

Nalſon. On the ſame ſuppoſition, his majeſty detached the earl of Holland with a body of three thouſand infantry and two thouſand horſe, to reconnoitre and intimidate the covenanters, commanded by Leſly, an officer of experience, who had ſerved with reputation in the army of Guſtavus Adolphus. The earl, in all probability, expected they would retreat at his approach; but he found them advantageouſly poſted on an eminence, to the number of five thouſand foot-ſoldiers, and two hundred horſemen; and their appearance made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he retired with ſome precipitation to the king's quarters in the neighbourhood of Berwick. Charles, far from blaming his conduct, expreſſed uncommon ſatisfaction at his return. He now perceived that he had been miſinformed with regard to the ſtrength of the covenanters, who had by this time reduced the caſtles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton. The Scots about his perſon and his army are ſaid to have betrayed him, by miſrepreſenting the condition of the rebels, and ſupplying them with intelligence of every thing that was tranſacted in the court and in the army. The marquis of Hamilton, who lay with his fleet in the frith of Forth, was now ordered to avoid hoſtilities; and the king ſeeing his noblemen and followers generally averſe to the proſecution of the war, now wiſhed for an opportunity to terminate it without bloodſhed.

Earl of Holland retreats before the covenanters.

The covenanters, appriſed of his inclinations, wrote in a very humble ſtrain to the earls of Arundel, Eſſex, and Holland, imploring their good offices with his majeſty, and proteſting that nothing was farther from their thoughts than any deſign to invade England. Eſſex, who both hated and deſpiſed the Scots, would not deign to anſwer their letter, which he ſent to the king; but the other two noble-

noblemen were differently affected. They thought A. C. 1639.
the covenanters had reason on their side, and turned
their thought towards a pacification. When those
letters had produced their effect, the lord Dumfermlin
arrived from the Scottish camp with a trumpet;
and presented to the king an humble supplication,
beseeching his majesty to appoint commissioners for
a treaty. Charles desired, That the last proclamation
he had sent to Edinburgh should be read in the
Scottish army. General Lesley complied with his An accommodation.
request; and then he appointed six commissioners
to treat with the insurgents. The conferences soon
produced the following conventions for peace: The
Scottish forces shall be disbanded in four and twenty
hours after the king's declaration, importing, That
all ecclesiastical affairs shall be decided by the general
assembly; and all civil matters by the parliament:
The royal forts, castles, and munitions of
war, shall be restored to the king: His majesty
shall then recal his fleet from the coast of Scotland,
and dismiss the persons, ships, and effects which
it had seized: No assembly shall be held, but such
as is approved by acts of parliament. The cause of
this war was never mentioned in the articles of pacification,
which being signed, the Scots disbanded
their army, and the king appointed the earl of Traquair
his high commissioner at the ensuing assembly.
This nobleman, a faithful adherent to the king, and Rushworth.
devoted to the archbishop of Canterbury, was furnished
with a set of instructions, by which it appears
that Charles intended to temporize; and in all likelihood,
there was as little sincerity on the side of
the covenanters, who disbanded their troops in such
a manner, that they could be reassembled with the
utmost facility and dispatch.

The king did not think himself strong enough to
reduce them by force of arms, and began to doubt
the fidelity of his English subjects; and the Scots
made

A. C. 1639. made this feigned submission, partly out of deference to their correspondents in England, and partly with a view to fix the odium of any subsequent rupture upon the king and his council. At the meeting of the general assembly in Edinburgh, the bishops, by the advice of his majesty, presented a declinatory to the commissioner, who sent it to the king, without having communicated the contents to the members. The assembly passed an act, imputing the troubles of the kingdom to the liturgy, the canons, consecration, ordination, the high commission, the five articles of Perth, the change of the church-government into episcopacy, the introduction of ecclesiastics into civil offices, and the suppression or interruption of general assemblies: all which innovations they abolished; and the commissioner confirmed their resolutions. By other acts they petitioned the commissioner and council, to ordain that all the subjects of Scotland should subscribe the covenant; and they commanded all the members of the church to sign it, with an express clause, importing, That they received it as explained by the general assembly, that is, containing an abolition of the articles of Perth, the episcopal government, and the elevation of ecclesiastics to civil offices. Then they resolved to petition the king, that their acts might be ratified in parliament; and without consulting the commissioner, appointed another assembly to meet at Aberdeen in the month of July in the following year. The parliament assembling immediately after their separation, presented a number of acts so prejudicial to the king's prerogative, that Charles, by a letter to Traquair, ordered him to prorogue it till the second day of June in the succeeding year; and should he meet with any opposition, to declare those members who should continue sitting, guilty of high treason.

Violence of the Scots assembly and parliament.

That

That assembly upon receiving the order immediately separated; but not before the members had drawn up a declaration, importing, That the earl of Traquair had no power to prorogue them without their own consent: That the order had been obtained through false information: That the earl of Traquair and the council had violated the privileges of parliament: That though they had a right to sit notwithstanding the prorogation, they were willing to separate, in order to give the king a proof of their obedience. Nevertheless, they left a committee to present an humble petition to his majesty, which was accordingly transmitted to London by the earl of Dumfermlin, and the lord Loudon, appointed their deputies for this purpose; but the king would not favour them with an audience, because they had undertaken their journey without the leave of the high commissioner. After their return to their own country, Traquair being called to court, reported to the council the transactions which had passed in Scotland since the pacification; and it was unanimously resolved, that the Scots should be reduced to their duty by force of arms. Nevertheless, the king permitted the committee of Edinburgh to send up deputies; and the two noblemen already mentioned, with two collegues, repaired to London. They presented a petition in the name of the last general assembly, desiring, that their acts or constitutions might be ratified in parliament: and another demanding, that they might be heard in presence of some counsellors of both kingdoms. They refused to speak before a committee of the English council, alledging, that they were sent to justify the conduct of the Scottish parliament to the king, and not to the council of England, which had no jurisdiction over them. Then the king favoured them with an audience, attended by the committee; and Loudon, in a long speech, endeavoured to justify the

A. C. 1639.

They send deputies to the king.

A. C. 1640.

A. C. 1640. the tranſactions in Scotland: but the king was not ſatisfied with his arguments; and the council declared, that the Scottiſh deputies had no powers to treat of an accommodation.

Charles complained of the inſolence and illegal conduct of their parliament; he taxed the covenanters with having, ſince the laſt pacification, levied troops; received arms, artillery, and ammunition, from foreign countries; impoſed taxes on the ſubjects; diffuſed defamatory libels againſt his government, through the kingdom of England; prohibited the king's governor of Edinburgh-caſtle from repairing the walls of that fortreſs; and prevented the garriſon from ſupplying themſelves with proviſions; fortified other places for their own rebellious purpoſes; and ſolicited the aſſiſtance of foreign powers againſt their own ſovereign. This laſt allegation was ſupported by an intercepted letter, directed to the king of France, in the ſame ſtile that ſubjects uſe towards their ſovereign. The ſubject of it was to implore aſſiſtance, and recommend the bearer Colvil as their agent; and it was ſubſcribed Rothes, Montroſe, Montgomery, Loudon, Leſley, Forreſter, Marr. Lord Loudon being examined touching this letter, which was without date, declared it had been written before the laſt pacification: but he was committed priſoner to the Tower; and the king made an advantage of this occurrence, pretending, that the Scots deſigned to introduce an army of foreigners into their country; ſo that there was an abſolute neceſſity to make preparations for the defence of England. Charles certainly acted in the moſt arbitrary and impolitic manner, by exerting his ſupremacy in the church of Scotland, contrary to the genius and conſciences of the people, inflamed to the moſt dangerous pitch of fanaticiſm; and, without all doubt, the Scots were guilty of rebellion in taking arms againſt their ſovereign, and demanding the

Intercepted letter from the Scots to the king of France.

the abolition of the epiſcopal government, which was founded on acts of parliament: but if ever reſiſtance is excuſable, it muſt certainly be ſo in ſuch a caſe, where a people is threatened with civil and religious ſlavery. A. C. 1640.

The king having reſolved upon the war, practiſed every method he could deviſe to aſſemble a powerful army. He ordered every county to raiſe a certain number of troops, and exacted the payment of ſhip-money with great rigour. He was furniſhed with a very reaſonable pretence for levying this impoſition. The Dutch fleet under admiral Tromp, attacked a Spaniſh ſquadron commanded by Don Antonio de Ocquendo, while he lay at anchor in the Downs, under the protection of Pennington, admiral of England. Forty Spaniſh veſſels were deſtroyed or taken; and Charles deeply reſented this inſult upon the honour of his flag: but the ſituation of his affairs would not allow him to break with the Dutch; and in the beginning of the following year they ſent a ſplendid embaſſy with excuſes, and a propoſal of marriage between the prince of Orange and his eldeſt daughter. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general of the army deſtined to act againſt Scotland; and his lieutenant was Wentworth governor of Ireland, lately created earl of Strafford. This nobleman, together with the marquis of Hamilton, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, were conſulted in all important affairs; and adviſed him to convoke a parliament. Mean while, the king borrowed money of his counſellors to defray the expence of his warlike preparations; and they contributed largely towards the relief of his neceſſities. Their example was followed by ſome other noblemen; ſo that he found himſelf in a condition to proceed with his armament, without waiting for a ſubſidy.

Preparations for war with Scotland.

Ruſhworth.

Nalſon.

A. C. 1640.

The king assembles a parliament.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-third of April, Sir John Finch lately appointed lord-keeper, made a speech in the king's name and presence to both houses, enlarging upon the insolence of the Scottish rebels; and demanding an immediate supply that should enable him to reduce them to obedience. Then the king himself confirmed what he had advanced; and ordered the letter from the Scottish lords to the French king to be read in their hearing. The commons having chosen their speaker, and appointed their committees, instead of taking fire at the insolence of the Scots, and granting an immediate supply, appeared, like their predecessors, attached to the subject of grievances, and received divers petitions, complaining of ship-money, monopolies, the Star-chamber, and the high commission. Mr. Pym, in a long discourse, undertook to demonstrate, that the rights of the nation had been violated by encroachments on the liberties of parliament, innovations in religion, and invasions of property. The house ordered the registers containing the process against Mr. Hambden about the ship-money to be produced. The speaker of the last parliament, being examined touching his refusing to collect the votes, declared, that he was restricted by his majesty's express order; and they immediately voted, that this order was a violation of privileges. Both houses being summoned to Whitehall, the lord-keeper gave them to understand that the army was on its march; and, that unless they should be regularly paid, his majesty's designs would prove abortive. He told them, that the king had no intention to reduce the ship-money into an annual revenue; he explained the necessity of equipping a powerful navy; expatiated upon the readiness with which the Irish parliament had granted a supply: he desired they would regulate the tax of tonnage and poundage;

Mr. Pym recapitulates the grievances of the nation.

declared

*JOHN* Lord *FINCH.*

declared his majesty's firm intention to redress all their grievances; and exhorted them to lay aside all jealousies and suspicion. At the same time, he set lord Loudon at liberty, through the mediation of the marquis of Hamilton, who is said to have favoured the covenanters in his heart. A. C. 1640.

His assurances made no impression upon the commons, who continued to deliberate upon the grievances. The king sent a message, desiring their positive answer touching the supply; but they expressed no inclination to gratify his request. Then Sir Henry Vane, secretary of state, proposed in his majesty's name, That if they would vote twelve subsidies payable in three years, and pass it into an act immediately, with a clause, that it should not determine the session, he would not only abstain for the present from levying ship-money, but even consent to its being utterly abolished in any manner that they should judge convenient. This proposal produced violent debates. Notwithstanding the clamours of the opposition, the majority seemed disposed to give the king satisfaction; but, during that day, the house could not take any resolution. Mean while, some malicious person insinuated to the king, that next day the commons intended to pass a vote against the war with Scotland; and Charles unhappily believing the report, which was intirely groundless, repaired on the morrow to the house of peers, where he dissolved the parliament. Immediately after the dissolution, which the king justified by a long declaration, an order of council was issued for searching the lord Brook's papers, on suspicion of his maintaining a correspondence with the Scottish rebels: Sir Henry Bellasis, and Sir John Hotham, were imprisoned for refusing to answer questions that were put to them at the council-board; and Mr. Crew was sent to the Tower, because he would not deliver to

Parliament dissolved. Rushworth. Clarendon.

A. C. 1640. the council the petitions that were presented to the committee for the affairs of religion, of which he had been president. Though the parliament was dissolved, the convocation continued sitting, under the name of a synod, and enacted certain canons. Among these there was one, that obliged all ecclesiastics, and such as had received degrees in the universities, to take an oath, importing, that they approved of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; and that they never would consent to any alteration of the church-government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeans, &c. After having settled their canons and this oath, which they had no legal power to impose, they granted a large subsidy for the maintenance of the Scottish war, and then separated.

The convocation continues to sit, and enacts canons.

The dissolution of the parliament raised a new ferment among the people; and their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by the favour publicly shewn to the Roman catholics, who were protected and even caressed at court, through the influence of the queen, who had persuaded her husband to receive count Rozetti, the pope's agent, in a public capacity. In order to raise money for the purposes of the war, the king ordered every county to advance the necessary sums for cloathing their respective forces, and conducting them to the general rendezvous. He bought upon credit all the pepper that was in the warehouses of the East-India company, and sold it again for ready money: he borrowed forty thousand pounds worth of bullion, which private persons had sent to the mint, and punctually repaid it in the sequel. He demanded a loan of three hundred thousand pounds of the city of London; but met with a refusal, at which he was so much incensed that he resolved to gratify his revenge. The city had formerly received a patent for settling a colony at Londonderry

Arbitrary measures of the court.

derry in Ireland: and was now accuſed before the Star-chamber of having uſurped a greater quantity of lands than was granted in the patent, condemned to loſe the grant, and pay a large fine; but ſhortly after retrieved the patent: though it was likewiſe proſecuted before the Star-chamber, becauſe the mayor and ſheriffs had neglected to ſeize the goods and effects of thoſe who refuſed to pay the ſhip-money. Such rigour, exerciſed upon the metropolis, alienated the hearts of the inhabitants from the king, and they in their turn enjoyed their revenge. The Scots continued to foment the animoſity of the people by their artful profeſſions and inſidious declarations, which were ſpread all over the kingdom by their travelling-pedlars and other diſguiſed agents. A. C. 1640.

The earl of Northumberland being ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, and the earl of Strafford, his lieutenant, detained at London as a neceſſary member of the cabinet-council, the lord Conway advanced to Newcaſtle with three thouſand infantry and fifteen hundred horſe; and there he received intelligence that the Scottiſh army was on its march towards England. Leſley, at the head of two and twenty thouſand covenanters, paſſed the Tweed at Coldſtream, on the twentieth day of Auguſt; and in a few days encamped at Newburn, on the banks of the river Tyne, about four miles from Newcaſtle. He found the lord Conway intrenched on the other ſide to guard the ford, and reſolved to paſs in the face of the Engliſh. He raiſed ſome batteries, by which Conway's horſe were put in confuſion; and paſſing the river, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, routed him at the firſt onſet. Conway retired with precipitation to Durham; and, thinking himſelf unſafe in that place, marched back to Northallerton, where he joined the king's army. Mean while the Scots, ſurpriſed at their own ſucceſs,

The Scots rout the army at Newburn, and take poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle.

A. C. 1640. ceſs, took poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle, where they found plenty of ammunition and artillery provided for his majeſty's ſervice. The inconſiderable action at Newburn was attended with very important conſequences. The earl of Strafford, a nobleman of a ſevere and haughty diſpoſition, rendered himſelf unpopular in the army by reviling Conway's officers and ſoldiers for their puſillanimous behaviour at the paſſage of the Tyne. Theſe, on the other hand, in excuſe of their own conduct, magnified the number, valour, and diſcipline of the enemy: and ſuch exaggerations made an impreſſion upon the whole army, already averſe to the war.

The malcontents now ſpoke loudly againſt the government, knowing this was no time to call them to account for their preſumption: the Scots behaved with great moderation, declaring they entertained no hoſtile deſigns againſt the Engliſh, whom they conſidered as their friends and brethren in oppreſſion; but that their ſole aim was to procure acceſs to his majeſty, that they might make him acquainted with their grievances. They proteſted their intentions were wholly pacific; they circulated two manifeſtoes, explaining the juſtice of their cauſe, the artifices of their enemies, among whom they ranked as chief the earl of Strafford and the archbiſhop of Canterbury; the neceſſity that compelled them to take arms in their own defence; the rectitude of their intention, which they called God to witneſs; and the intereſt of England to engage in the ſame cauſe, for the ſupport of their liberties and religion. Finally, they ſent a petition to the king, beſeeching him, in the moſt humble terms, to lend an ear to their complaints, and redreſs their grievances by the advice of an Engliſh parliament. Charles had convoked an aſſembly of his nobles at York, that he might uſe their advice in the preſent ſituation of affairs. He deſired to know

They ſue for peace.

the

*FRANCIS* Earl of *BEDFORD*.

the particular demands of the Scots, who transmitted the following propoſitions: That he would cauſe the acts of the laſt general aſſembly to be ratified in parliament: That the caſtle of Edinburgh, and other places of ſtrength in Scotland, ſhould be employed for no other purpoſe but the defence of the kingdom: That the Scots in England and Ireland ſhould not incur any penalty for having ſubſcribed the covenant, nor be ſubjected to oaths or ſubſcriptions contrary to the laws of the realm: That the authors of theſe troubles ſhould be puniſhed as incendiaries, according to their demerits: That the ſhips taken from the Scots ſhould be reſtored, with all their merchandiſe, and the damage be repaired: That they ſhould be indemnified for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained ſince the beginning of the troubles: That the proclamations, declaring them traitors, ſhould be revoked: And that his majeſty would, with the advice of his Engliſh parliament, withdraw the garriſons from the frontiers, that a free communication and commerce between the two nations might be reſtored. A. C. 1640.

The king was now reduced to great perplexity. The city of London, which befriended the Scots, had preſented a petition, complaining of illegal impoſitions, monopolies, the growth of popery, and propoſing a parliament as the only expedient for redreſſing theſe national grievances. Another remonſtrance, to the ſame purpoſe, was ſigned by the earls of Bedford, Eſſex, Hertford, Warwick, Briſtol, and Mulgrave, the lords Say and Seal, Edward Howard, Bollingbroke, Mandeville, Brook, and Paget; and the gentlemen of Yorkſhire delivered an addreſs, in which they beſought his majeſty to make peace with Scotland, and aſſemble a parliament. The king, in a ſpeech to the noblemen of York, declared his reſolution to convoke a

A. C. 1640. parliament for the third day of November; and demanded their advice touching the subsistence of his troops, and the answers he should return to the proposals of the Scots. The result of their deliberations was, that commissioners should be appointed to treat with the enemy. Sixteen peers were nominated for that purpose, together with the earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerk, and some others as their assistants; at the same time a resolution was taken to borrow two hundred thousand pounds of the city of London, on the credit of the peers, who should give security for the repayment of that sum. The Scots having appointed commissioners to treat on their side, the negotiation was begun at Rippon on the first day of October. But, in the first place, they represented that their army was maintained by contributions raised upon Cumberland, Newcastle, and the bishopric of Durham; and insisted upon the king's making some provision for their subsistence during the treaty. They likewise refused to confer with the earl of Traquair, whom they branded as an incendiary, against whom they demanded justice. After some disputes the commissioners agreed upon the preliminary articles, providing for the maintenance of the Scottish army, at the rate of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day; and restoring the freedom of commerce between the two nations. But the Scots artfully protracted the ratification of the articles until the sixteenth day of October; and then they had not settled the conditions of the truce, much less discussed the articles of the treaty. They foresaw that the noblemen would be obliged to give their attendance in parliament; and in that case the conferences would be removed to London, which was propitious to their designs. They were not mistaken in their conjectures: the negotiation was transferred

The king resolves to convoke a parliament.

Conferences for a treaty opened at Rippon.

Rushworth. Clarendon.

ferred to London, at the desire of the English commissioners. A. C. 1640.

The parliament, at meeting, was unusually numerous. Every member looked upon this conjuncture as a national crisis. The king, in his speech, represented the necessity of a supply to maintain his troops, and of means to expel the Scottish rebels, that the nation in general might be freed from its fears, and the northern counties disburdened of such troublesome guests, whom they were obliged to maintain. The commons, having, at the king's recommendation, filled their chair with William Lenthal, a lawyer of some reputation, established a committee of elections. Then they resolved, that on certain days of every week there should be a committee of the whole house, to deliberate upon the state of religion, the grievances, the courts of justice, commerce, and the affairs of Ireland. Fanaticism, with all its levelling principles, had now overspread the land. Even those leaders of the commons, who had assumed a puritanical severity in their words and actions, to work the more effectually on the minds of the populace, were gradually infected with that enthusiasm which at first they had only feigned. Many became real religionists; while others imbibed a large portion of puritanism, without laying aside their hypocrisy. The members were generally bent upon an alteration in the government. A few moderate men sought only to ascertain the liberties of the nation: others resolved to humble and diminish the royal prerogative; and there was a more violent party that extended their views to an utter extirpation of the hierarchy and monarchical government: but these at first carefully concealed their designs under the profession of rigid presbyterians, and were afterwards known by the name of independents.

The parliament meets.

The puritanical party still prevails in the house of commons.

A. C. 1640. pendents. Religion was become a univerſal faſhion. The moſt eloquent ſpeakers in the houſe introduced a kind of holy cant and jargon into their ſpeeches, and all their alluſions being ſcriptural, ſtamped them with an air of prophecy or inſpiration.

They proceed upon grievances.

In the beginning of the ſeſſions a great number of petitions were preſented by individuals, as well as by multitudes of people, and numerous troops of horſemen from different counties, craving redreſs of grievances both in church and ſtate. Mr. Pym, member for Taviſtock in Devonſhire, ſignalized himſelf in a ſet ſpeech, recapitulating every grievance and ſhadow of miſconduct of which the king's adminiſtration had been accuſed. He divided them into three heads, ſuch as infringed the liberty of parliament, prejudiced religion, and incroached upon the liberty of the ſubject. He compared the innovations in religion to the parable of the dry bones in the prophecies of Ezekiel. They firſt joined themſelves together: then came the ſinews and fleſh; theſe were afterwards covered with ſkin; and at laſt the whole was inſpired with the breath of life. He complained that members of parliament had been reſtrained from ſpeaking their ſentiments; that ſome of them had been impriſoned, proſecuted in inferior courts, and detained in cuſtody for having ſpoken their opinions in the houſe: that the ſpeaker had been forbidden to put the queſtion, and ſeveral parliaments abruptly diſſolved; that the laws againſt papiſts were ſuſpended, and perſons of that communion favoured with places of truſt and honour in the commonwealth: that they freely reſorted to court, in order to communicate their councils and deſigns; and that a nuncio publicly exerciſed the pope's authority in England. He inveighed againſt the maintenance of

of popiſh tenets in books, ſermons, and diſputes; the new ceremonies in religion, ſuch as altars, images, crucifixes, and bowings; the proſecution of proteſtant diſſenters for things in themſelves indifferent; the incroachments of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, fining and impriſoning illegally, and challenging that power as veſted in their order jure divino; and contriving and publiſhing canons and orders for viſitation. Under the head of public grievances he recapitulated the exaction of tonnage and poundage, compoſition for knighthood, impoſition of ſhip-money, arbitrary enlargement of foreſts, ſale of nuſances by compounding for them, commiſſion for building and depopulation, unlawful military charges levied by the king's warrant, letters of council, and orders of lieutenants of counties; extrajudicial declarations of judges, monopolies, the court of Star-chamber, the king's edicts and proclamations for maintaining monopolies; the ambition and corruption of the clergy, who preached up divine authority and abſolute power in kings; and laſtly, the interm iſſion of parliaments. Inflammatory harangues of the ſame nature were made by the lord Digby, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, and ſeveral other members. A. C. 1640. Ruſhworth, Whitlock.

The commons deſired the lords to join in an addreſs to his majeſty for a faſt, which was accordingly appointed. A committee was named to examine into the number of papiſts in and about London. The lord Digby propoſed a remonſtrance on the grievances of the nation, which was poſtponed till another opportunity. The houſe voted, that all thoſe members, who were concerned in monopolies, ſhould be reputed unworthy of ſeats in parliament. Among the petitions preſented to the houſe, were thoſe of Prynne, Baſtwic, and Burton, who had undergone ſuch rigorous puniſhment for libelling the government. By an arbitrary order of council they had been ſeverally exiled to Scilly, Jerſey, and Guernſey;

A. C. 1640. ſey; excluded from all communication, and debarred the uſe of pen, ink, and paper. The houſe of commons now reverſed the ſentence, as illegal; and the judges were ordered to make reparation to the injured. When they landed in England, the people in crouds received them with loud acclamations. They were treated on the road with great magnificence, and entered London in triumph, amidſt the warmeſt demonſtrations of popular affection. Lilburn, Leighton, Jennings, and Smart, who had been impriſoned for the ſame offence, were likewiſe releaſed, and obtained damages of the judges and miniſters The houſe eagerly liſtened to all petitions of people who had been aggrieved by the king's miniſters, or complained of the innovations of the clergy. But their chief reſentment was levelled againſt archbiſhop Laud and the earl of Strafford, whom they conſidered as the moſt dangerous enemies of puritaniſm in church and ſtate. On the eleventh day of November, Pym, after having deſired that the doors of the houſe might be locked, and the keys laid on the table, declared he had divers articles of complaint, which might amount to an impeachment for high-treaſon againſt the earl of Strafford. A committee having conſidered the charge in another apartment, reported that there was ſufficient ground for an accuſation: then Pym was ordered to go up to the houſe of peers, and impeach the earl of high-treaſon, in the name of the commons. He had foreſeen this ſtorm, and propoſed to the king that he ſhould retire to his government of Ireland; but Charles truſted ſo much to his capacity and attachment, that he inſiſted upon his attendance, and promiſed to defend him from the fury of the commons. He was no ſooner impeached than the lords committed him to the cuſtody of the uſher of the black rod; and, in a few days, he was ſent to the Tower. Divers petitions having been de-

The earl of Strafford impeached.

Mr. JOHN LILBORNE.

delivered to the lower houſe againſt SirFrancis Win- A. C. 1640.
debank, ſecretary of ſtate, complaining that he had favoured the Roman catholics, and releaſed ſeveral convicted prieſts, he was ſummoned to appear and anſwer to the charge; but he thought proper to conſult his ſafety, by retiring to the continent.

The commons, taking into conſideration the new canons, the oath, and the tax upon the clergy, which had been enacted and impoſed by the convocation, unanimouſly voted that ſuch an aſſembly had no power to frame conſtitutions, canons, or any other acts, without conſent of parliament: that the late canons contained matters contrary to the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the rights of parliament, the liberty and property of the ſubjects; that therefore they tended to ſedition, and were of the moſt dangerous conſequences. Then they appointed a committee of nine and thirty members to inquire who were the principal promoters of thoſe canons; and to prepare an impeachment againſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury, for having endeavoured to overturn the laws and religion of his country. The Scottiſh commiſſioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, at the ſame time preſented to the lords an accuſation againſt this prelate, taxing him with being the author of all the troubles in Scotland, by impoſing the book of canons and the liturgy upon the natives of that kingdom, and exciting a war between his majeſty and his ſubjects. The archbiſhop, being likewiſe impeached by the commons, was taken into cuſtody, and afterwards committed to the Tower. Matthew Wren, biſhop of Ely, being ſuſpected of a deſign to quit the kingdom, was obliged to give a ſecurity for ten thouſand pounds. The lord-keeper Finch, being threatened with a proſecution, fled into Holland, and was declared a traitor by a vote of the commons; and the king committed the ſeals to Sir

*As is archbiſhop Laud.*

Ed-

A. C. 1640. Edward Lyttleton. Brampſton, Davenport, and Crawley, three of the judges, were obliged to give bail. Such was the method taken to over-awe the king's miniſters; but what ſtill more contributed to intimidate his adherents, was the practice of paſſing votes againſt any part of their conduct, as contrary to law.

The king's miniſters rigorouſly proſecuted by the commons.

Petitions being preſented againſt thoſe who had been concerned in monopolies, innovations, or in any ſhape inſtrumental in promoting what was ſtiled a grievance, the houſe of commons examined and declared them delinquents, as having committed offences for which they deſerved to be puniſhed according to law: conſequently they lay under the terror of a proſecution. A much greater number lived in daily apprehenſion of falling under cognizance; ſo that all the favourers of Charles were terrified into ſubmiſſion, and he was almoſt abandoned by his defendants. He found the torrent too ſtrong to be oppoſed, and therefore acquieſced in their meaſures with a good grace; and indeed, from the beginning of this parliament, he ſeems to have been ſincerely diſpoſed to a reconciliation with the commons. The lord Falkland having ſpoken with great energy againſt the impoſition of ſhip-money, the houſe voted that this tax was levied contrary to the laws of the kingdom, the privileges of the ſubject, and the petition of right: that the opinions of the judges, who favoured that impoſition, were contrary to the laws of the kingdom, the rights and property of the ſubject, the reſolutions of parliament, and the petition of right: and that the king's orders, on that ſubject, were illegal in the ſame degree. A committee was appointed to examine the judges, and learn by whom and in what manner they were ſolicited and threatened to give ſuch an extrajudicial opinion. The committee for examining the right of the ſubject was ordered to draw up impeach-

peachments againſt lord-keeper Finch and the reſt of the judges who had ſubſcribed thoſe opinions; to receive informations touching the refuſal of admitting perſons to the benefit of the Habeas Corpus, the prohibitions, the extrajudicial opinions of the judges concerning the juriſdiction of eccleſiaſtical courts, and the court of admiralty, as well as their own illegal proceedings. The lords ordered the record of the judgment awarded againſt Mr. Hambden, in the affair of ſhip-money, and the opinions of the judges on that affair, to be cancelled in their preſence: and this order paved the way for an act to aboliſh ſhip-money, to which the king gave his aſſent in the ſequel. A. C. 1640.

The demagogues in the houſe of commons had reſolved upon the abolition of the hierarchy. The preſbyterians hated the biſhops, as their religious enemies and perſecutors. The republicans conſidered them as a dead weight in the houſe of lords, that would always cauſe the royal ſcale to preponderate; for they were, to a man, devoted to the king and his prerogative. In order to pave the way for their excluſion from the upper houſe, a great number of petitions were procured againſt the prelates. One was preſented againſt archbiſhop Laud, in the name of Wilſon, a miniſter whom he had ſuſpended. Smart complained of having been deprived of his benefice, and impriſoned by the high commiſſion, at the inſtigation of doctor Cozens dean of Durham, becauſe he would not conform to the innovations which that eccleſiaſtic had introduced. Smart was releaſed, and Cozens declared a delinquent. The town of Banbury petitioned againſt innovations. Two inhabitants of Cheſter complained to the houſe of their having been cruelly treated by the high commiſſion-court of York, becauſe they had viſited Prynne in the caſtle of Caernarvon. A petition was preſented to the houſe, ſubſcribed by a great Their deſigns againſt the hierarchy.

A. C. 1640. a great number of persons in London, and several counties, containing eight and twenty grievances, arising from episcopal government. Addresses of the same kind were offered by the city of Gloucester; and several ministers of the English church. They were eagerly received by the commons, who nominated a committee to examine the jurisdiction and proceedings of the two courts of high commission, in the provinces of Canterbury and York; and another was established, to take cognizance of the last convocation.

A. C. 1641. Bill for excluding bishops from parliament.

The king, alarmed at these transactions, repaired to the house of peers, where, in a speech to the lords and commons, he recommended dispatch in providing for the maintenance of the fleet and army: he told them, that he made a wide distinction between reforming and altering the government; that therefore he could not consent to the exclusion of bishops from the upper house; nor to a bill for triennial parliaments, which he understood the commons had under consideration. On that same day, a petition was presented to them against Matthew Wren, who, while bishop of Norwich, had by oppression and innovation, compelled above fifty families of that city to retire to New-England. Then the house deliberated upon the remonstrance of the ministers in London, against the bishops; and the right of prelates to sit in parliament. Warm debates arose upon this last subject. The friends of episcopacy affirmed, that prelates sat in parliament since the beginning of the constitution, as the representatives of the clergy: and the other party alledged, that they first obtained seats in parliament, as possessors of temporal baronies, for which they did homage to the sovereign. Much learning and elocution was displayed on both sides of the dispute. On the thirteenth day of February, the house ordered a bill to be brought in for abolishing superstition.

ſtition. On the firſt day of March, a committee was eſtabliſhed to prepare reaſons for depriving eccleſiaſtics of all ſecular employments; and on the ninth, another bill was ordered againſt pluralities. Upon the report of the committee appointed to examine the remonſtrance againſt the biſhops, the houſe voted, That the legiſlative and judiciary power of the biſhops in the houſe of peers, was a great obſtacle to the diſcharge of their ſpiritual functions, as well as prejudicial to the ſtate; therefore it was neceſſary to ſuppreſs that power: and that a bill ſhould be prepared for the purpoſe. The ſame vote was paſſed with reſpect to the judiciary power of biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtics in the commiſſion of the peace, in the Star-chamber, or in any other court of juriſdiction. At length, a bill for excluding eccleſiaſtics from all ſecular employments paſſed the houſe of commons; and was ſent up to the lords, among whom it met with great oppoſition. The commons immediately brought in another bill for the total abolition of epiſcopacy: then the lords gave them to underſtand, they were ready to concur with the firſt bill, excepting the clauſe that deprived biſhops of their ſeats in parliament. In a ſubſequent conference between the two houſes, the lords declared, That they did not conceive this right of the biſhops could be diſputed, either by the common or ſtatute-law of the kingdom: nor did they ſee any inconvenience reſulting from ſuch right; though they were ready to concur with the commons in excluding them from ſeats in the Star-chamber and in the council, and from the exerciſe of all ſecular employments. Next day the lower houſe preſented to the lords nine reaſons for excluding biſhops from parliament: and on the ſeventh day of June, the peers voted, That the biſhops ſhould be maintained in their right to ſit in parliament. On the fifteenth, the lower houſe paſſed a vote, importing, That all A. C. 1641.

A. C. 1641. deans, chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and their officers, ſhould be totally ſuppreſſed; and their revenues employed for the encouragement of ſtudy, ſcience, and other pious uſes: That the king ſhould be indemnified for his rents, firſt-fruits, and other rights: and, That a convenient ſubſiſtence ſhould be aſſigned to thoſe who ſhould be thus deprived of their livings, provided they were not delinquents.

Proceedings againſt the catholics.

During theſe tranſactions, the catholics did not eſcape unpuniſhed. The committee appointed to conſider the king's proclamation againſt recuſants, having reported that it did not anſwer the expectations of the houſe, the commons deſired the general of the army to diſmiſs all the officers that were papiſts, and petitioned the king to deprive all catholic governors of their places. A remonſtrance was prepared againſt the pope's nuncio Roſetti, who reſided in England, on pretence of being neceſſary to the queen in matters of conſcience; and the juſtices of the peace were ordered to proſecute recuſants with all the rigour of the law. Several conferences were held between the two houſes on the ſubject of one Goodman, a jeſuit, who had been condemned to death and reſpited by the king. They preſented a joint-remonſtrance to his majeſty, deſiring he would not interrupt the execution of juſtice upon this jeſuit and apoſtate. Charles replied, that the death of Goodman might prejudice the proteſtants abroad. The man himſelf petitioned that he might be put to death rather than occaſion any difference between the king and parliament; and the two houſes, mollified perhaps by this generous requeſt, no longer inſiſted upon his execution. The commons having received information of ſome ſecret deſign hatched by the papiſts, ordered the mayor of London to prevent the reſort of people to the chapels of the queen and of foreign ambaſſadors:

dors: a bill was brought into the houſe for diſarming all the papiſts of the kingdom. The members examined into the affair of the contribution which the catholics had raiſed for the ſupport of the war in Scotland. But the queen appeaſed them with a meſſage, owning ſhe had exerted herſelf for the relief of the king in his neceſſities, proteſting ſhe did not know that the methods ſhe uſed were contrary to law; and aſſuring them ſhe would for the future act with more circumſpection. She likewiſe promiſed of her own accord, that Roſetti ſhould be ſent back to his own country; but delaying the performance of this promiſe until their patience was exhauſted, they ordered him to be brought to the bar, that he might be interrogated; and he retired to the continent with great precipitation. Father Philippe, the queen's confeſſor, was examined by the commons, who ſent to the lords an impeachment againſt him, and another againſt the ſuperior of her majeſty's capuchins; but on neither did they proceed. A. C. 1641. Nalſon. Ruſhworth. Clarendon.

This vigour of the commons was in a great meaſure owing to the Scottiſh army that ſtill remained at Newcaſtle. The earl of Rothes and lord Loudon, who were their chief deputies in negotiating the treaty, maintained an intimate correſpondence with the leading men in the lower houſe, and greatly influenced their meaſures. Thoſe commiſſioners were magnificently lodged in the city of London, cloſe by St. Antholin's church, which was aſſigned to them as a place of devotion, where their chaplains publicly practiſed the preſbyterian form of worſhip; and by their preaching acquired great popularity among the Engliſh puritans. Their prayers and ſermons were no other than rhapſodies of unintelligible jargon, which was wonderfully adapted to the ignorant fanaticiſm that then prevailed in all parts of the nation. The houſe of commons appointed Great popularity of the Scots.

A. C. 1641. a committee to renew the treaty of Rippon with the Scottiſh commiſſioners; and an order was entered, that upon all occaſions they ſhould receive the appellation of Our Brethren of Scotland. It was reſolved, That the Scottiſh as well as the Engliſh army, ſhould be paid by the parliament: two ſubſidies were granted for this purpoſe; and in the mean time, money was borrowed in the city of London, on the credit of particular members. A poll-tax, and other ſupplies, were afterwards levied; but not ſufficient to defray the whole expence. They foreſaw, that the parliament's being in debt would be a good reaſon for continuing the ſeſſion. They looked upon the Scots as their confederates, whoſe preſence kept the king in ſubjection; and they determined to retain thoſe invaders, until they ſhould have wholly ſubdued the royal prerogative.

The king paſſes the act for triennial parliaments, and makes other conceſſions.

This was actually the caſe: in the courſe of this ſeſſion Charles gave his aſſent to an act eſtabliſhing triennial parliaments; another to aboliſh the Star-chamber and high commiſſion; a third for reducing foreſts to their antient bounds in the reign of Edward I. a fourth repealing the ſtatutes concerning knighthood, which had paſſed in the reign of the ſecond Edward; and a fifth for aboliſhing the tax of ſhip-money. The commons, in granting the tonnage and poundage, voted theſe duties for two months only, and afterwards renewed their grant from time to time, that they might convince the king of his having no independent right to aſſume them, without the conſent of parliament. The marſhal's-court, the ſtannary-court, together with the councils of the North, and of Wales, were aboliſhed, as illegal and oppreſſive. The nation expreſſed great joy at theſe conceſſions of the king, who now found himſelf abandoned by his adherents, and had the mortification to ſee the Scots careſſed by the parliament, which, inſtead of enabling him to drive them

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as rebels out of England, now presented them with three hundred thousand pounds, as a recompence for having invaded the kingdom. In a word, he was obliged to grant all their demands, in a treaty which was ratified by the parliaments of both nations. Charles, with a view to render the popular leaders propitious to his government, and more placable with regard to the earl of Strafford, admitted into his council the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol, and Warwick; the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton. Juxon bishop of London, the friend of Laud, resigned the treasurer's staff: Oliver St. John was appointed solicitor-general. The king intended that Hollis should fill the place of secretary, vacated by the flight of Windebank: that Pym should be made chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of lord Cottington, who had resigned; lord Say master of the wards; the earl of Essex governor, and Mr. Hambden tutor to the prince; but this total change in the ministry was prevented by the king's understanding that those persons would not alter their measures, in consequence of their promotion. A. C. 1641. Rushworth. Clarendon.

The sacrifices he had already made did not one moment retard the prosecution of Strafford. That nobleman was considered as the chief support of the prerogative: the commons looked upon him as an apostate; and the Scots hated him, as the implacable and avowed enemy of their country. A committee of thirteen was chosen by the lower house, to prepare the charge against him; and these were joined to a committee of the lords, authorized to examine witnesses and papers touching any part of the earl's conduct. They likewise took an oath of secrecy, that the earl might find the greater difficulty in eluding their enquiries, and in preparing for his defence. The king too rashly consented to their examining privy-counsellors upon opinions deli- Trial of the earl of Strafford.

A. C. 1641. vered at the board. Sir George Ratcliffe, the earl's friend and confident, was accuſed of high-treaſon, brought from Ireland and committed to priſon, that Strafford might be deprived of his intimate friend, who was beſt able to juſtify his conduct. The Iriſh houſe of commons ſent over a committee to aſſiſt in the proſecution of this unfortunate nobleman, who had been their governor; and, in a word, the three kingdoms ſeemed bent upon his deſtruction. The articles of his impeachment, amounting to eight and twenty, charged him with having exerciſed illegal arbitrary power and oppreſſion in many inſtances, both as preſident of the North, and as lord-lieutenant of Ireland: with having been the cauſe of the war with the Scots, againſt whom he had unjuſtly irritated his majeſty: with having levied an army of Iriſh papiſts to enſlave the kingdom; and with having adviſed the king to eſtabliſh an abſolute government on the ruins of the conſtitution. Weſtminſter-hall was formed into a large court of judicature, for this important trial. The earl of Arundel preſided as lord high-ſteward, the peers ſat in their robes as judges, and the commons as accuſers; but the biſhops withdrew, according to cuſtom, becauſe forbidden by the canons to aſſiſt at any trial for life. At the upper end was a chair and cloth of ſtate for the king, and on each ſide a cloſe gallery, in which his majeſty and the queen ſat in private. Whitelock was appointed chairman of the committee appointed to conduct the impeachment. The trial began on the twenty-ſecond day of March. The articles of accuſation were inforced with all the virulence of malice, and all the energy of eloquence. The earl behaved with great dignity, courage, and compoſure. His defence was noble, ſpirited, and effectual. He acquitted himſelf of every imputation, except a few acrimonous expreſſions, and ſome inſtances of indiſcretion, which ought to have been

forgiven, as the infirmities of human nature. Nothing had appeared againſt him to juſtify the charge of treaſon, when, on the twelfth day of April, Pym produced, in the houſe of commons, a paper of ſome notes taken by ſecretary Vane, of opinions delivered at the council-table. Young Vane pretended that he had found them by accident in his father's cabinet; and, as they were thought to bear teſtimony againſt the earl, his accuſers next day read them openly at his trial. They were entitled, No danger of a war with Scotland, if offenſive, not defenſive. The earl had adviſed the king to borrow a ſum of money of the city of London, and to levy ſhip-money. He ſaid his majeſty was abſolved from all rule of government, as having tried all legal ways, and been repulſed; and that he had an army in Ireland, which he might employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience. The earl, in his defence obſerved, that it was hard meaſure to be proſecuted under the notion of treaſon for opinions given in council: that his uſing the expreſſion "this kingdom," was not proved, as the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Northumberland, the lord treaſurer, and the lord Cottington, who were preſent at the board, declared, upon their honours, that they never heard him ſpeak ſuch words; but granting he had uſed the expreſſion, the word This could not rationally imply England, which had not been guilty of diſobedience, but Scotland, which was the immediate ſubject of their deliberation, and in a ſtate of actual rebellion. After having made this anſwer, he recapitulated the ſeveral parts of his former defence; and in concluſion, ſaid, "My lords, I have "troubled you longer than I ſhould have done, "were it not for the intereſts of theſe dear pledges "a ſaint in heaven hath left me."---Here he made a pauſe, pointing to his children, and ſhedding ſome tears, then proceeded in theſe words "What I for- A. C. 1641.

A. C. 1641. "ſelf myſelf is nothing; but that my indiſcretion "ſhould extend to my poſterity woundeth me to "the very ſoul---You will pardon my infirmity; "ſomething I ſhould have added, but am not able, "therefore let it paſs:--and now, my lords, for my- "ſelf, I have been taught, by the bleſſing of Al- "mighty God, that the afflictions of this preſent "life are not to be compared to the eternal weight "of glory, which will be revealed hereafter: and "ſo, my lords, even ſo, with all tranquility of mind, "I freely ſubmit myſelf to your judgment, and whe- "ther that judgment be of life or death, Te Deum "Laudamus." The very chairman of the committee who managed the impeachment, ſays this great and good perſon ſpoke with ſuch pathetic grace and eloquence as moved the hearts of all his auditors (a few excepted) to pity and remorſe.

He is convicted by bill of attainder.

He and his counſel produced ſuch weighty arguments in his defence, that the commons ſaw no proſpect of his deſtruction but by bill of attainder, which paſſed the houſe on the twenty-firſt day of April, after a ſharp debate, and was immediately ſent up to the lords. On the firſt day of May, the king aſſembling both houſes, paſſionately requeſted that they would not proceed ſeverely againſt the earl of Strafford, whom, in his own conſcience, he could not condemn of high-treaſon; but that for his miſdemeanours he ſhould never ſerve him, nor the common-wealth, in any place of truſt, no not ſo much as a conſtable. Next day the nuptials of the prince of Orange and the princeſs Mary were ſolemnized; and the popular miniſter preached up the neceſſity of juſtice upon ſome great delinquents. On the third, a vaſt multitude of the populace from the city appeared at Weſtminſter, armed with ſwords and cudgels, crying aloud for juſtice againſt the earl of Strafford. They pretended decay of trade, and want of ſubſiſtence; and paſted up at Weſtminſter

*WENTWORTH* Earl of *STRAFFORD*.

the names of all thoſe members of parliament who had voted for the earl. A national proteſtation to maintain the proteſtant religion againſt popery; to defend the king's perſon, the power of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the ſubject, was taken by the lords and commons, and impoſed upon all the people of England. A bill was brought in for continuing this parliament, which ſhould not be prorogued, adjourned, or diſſolved, without the conſent of both houſes, until the grievances ſhould be redreſſed, but have credit to take up money. A majority of the peers voted the earl of Strafford guilty of high treaſon. The king being addreſſed upon the act of attainder, and the other bill, was involved in the utmoſt anxiety. His counſellors adviſed him to give up the earl, in order to appeaſe the enraged people. Strafford himſelf, in a letter, gallantly exhorted his majeſty to ſacrifice him to a reconciliation with his ſubjects. The queen, who was no friend to the earl, and terrified with the thoughts of a rebellion, uſed all her influence in perſuading him to comply with the demands of his parliament. Thus perplexed, and bated with importunities, he commiſſioned three lords to paſs the bills, which deprived Strafford of life, and himſelf of authority. When ſecretary Carleton informed the earl of this tranſaction, he ſtarted up from his chair, with marks of extreme aſtoniſhment, and laying his hand upon hir breaſt, exclaimed, "Put not "your truſt in princes, nor in the ſons of men; "for in them there is no ſalvation." Charles was immediately ſeized with remorſe for what he had done, and ſent a letter by the prince to the houſe of lords, intreating them to confer with the commons, that the life of Strafford might be ſpared; but they paid no regard to his requeſt. A. C. 1641.

The parliament was now more than ever exaſperated by the diſcovery of two deſigns which were

A. C. 1641. were said to be countenanced by his majesty. One was to forward the escape of Strafford, by means of captain Billingsley, who came with two hundred men, and a warrant from the king, to be admitted into the Tower; but Sir William Balfour the lieutenant, suspecting his intention, would not receive the reinforcement. Balfour himself was tampered with, and might have been gratified with a considerable sum of money, for conniving at the earl's elopement; but he was so strongly attached to his countrymen the covenanters, that he rejected the offer, and communicated the transaction to the popular men among the commons. The other design was an association of the officers in the army to defend the king's person and government against those who seemed bent upon overturning the constitution in church and estate. The persons chiefly concerned in this affair, were the lord Piercy, Jermyn, O Neale, Goring, Wilmot, Pollard, and Ashburnham, who enjoyed commissions in the army. They were piqued at some marks of partiality which the commons had exhibited in favour of the Scots; and no doubt they were fired with indignation to see their monarch so rigorously treated by this parliament. They drew up the form of a petition to the king and parliament, to be subscribed by the army, which therein promised to come up and guard his majesty and the two houses, from the danger of tumults excited by malcontents, and vindicate the nation from innovations. This draught was counterfigned by the initial letters of the king's name, in token of his approbation. Goring, who was governor of Portsmouth, betrayed the secret to the leading men in the lower house. Pym communicated the intelligence in an inflammatory speech. Piercy and Jermyn fled immediately to the continent. Goring was examined at the bar of the house, and confessed the associators had bound them-

Design of some officers to render the army subservient to the king's interest.

themſelves by an oath of ſecrecy; and though this circumſtance was ſtill denied by Pollard, Wilmot, and Aſhburnham, Piercy confirmed it, in a letter to his brother the earl of Northumberland. It was conſidered as a very dangerous conſpiracy; and on this occaſion the proteſtation had been ſigned by all the members of both houſes, except Southampton and Roberts. To keep up the ferment of the people, freſh alarms were every day ſounded. A great concourſe of papiſts was ſaid to be aſſembled in Lancaſhire: the malcontents of that communion were reported to meet in Surry, and conſpire in ſubterranean caverns. Some ridiculous plots were feigned for the purpoſe of irritating the populace; and rumours of invaſions and inſurrections carefully circulated. The people thus inflamed, blazed out in violence and riot; they crouded about the palace of Whitehall, and demanded juſtice with the moſt outrageous menaces and clamour. A. C. 1641.

In ſuch a ſtate of anarchy and inſurrection, no wonder that little regard was paid to the king's interpoſition in favour of Strafford. On the twelfth day of May, that unhappy nobleman was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill; and, as he paſſed by the apartments of the archbiſhop, he ſpoke to him at the window, intreating the aſſiſtance of his prayers. Laud, ſummoning all his fortitude, encouraged the noble ſufferer with ſpiritual comfort, adminiſtered with a chearful voice and confident expreſſion. Thus animated, the earl appeared in his laſt ſcene with that ſerenity which is the effect of true courage and internal peace. He expreſſed his fears that a reformation, begun with the ſhedding of innocent blood, would not have a happy iſſue. He declared his attachment to the proteſtant religion, as profeſſed in the church of England; his loyalty to the king, and affection to the Strafford is beheaded.

peace

A. C. 1641. peace and welfare of the kingdom. Having bid farewel to his brother and friends; "And now (ſaid "he) one ſtroke will make my wife a widow, my "dear children fatherleſs, deprive my poor ſer-"vants of their indulgent maſter, and ſeparate me "from my affectionate brother and all my friends." In preparing himſelf for the block, "I thank God "(added he) that I am no way afraid of death, nor "am daunted with any terrors; but do as chearfully "lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when "going to repoſe." So ſaying, he ſubmitted his neck to the executioner, who at one ſtroke ſevered his head from his body. Such was the fate of Sir Thomas Wentworth earl of Strafford, a nobleman of rare talents, invincible courage, and unſhaken fidelity: but proud, contemptuous, arbitrary, and overbearing. He had, without doubt, adviſed the king to maintain his authority by force of arms; but he was altogether innocent and unconcerned in thoſe meaſures by which Charles had involved himſelf in ſuch a labyrinth of trouble and perplexity. Thoſe had been deviſed and practiſed before he had any ſhare in the adminiſtration; and the bill of attainder by which he fell, is a ſtanding reproach upon both houſes of parliament.

Ruſhworth. Whitelock. Clarendon.

The king in vain endeavours to appeaſe the commons.

The king was extremely ſhocked at the death of Strafford, and thought he had every thing to fear from the violence of thoſe men who had already treated him with ſuch cruelty and contempt. Inſpired with this apprehenſion, he reſolved to appeaſe them with all ſorts of condeſcenſion. It was at this period that the tax of ſhip-money and the Star-chamber were aboliſhed. Wilmot, Aſhburnham, and Pollard, were expelled the houſe and impriſoned, for having been concerned in the conſpiracy to ſeduce the army. All the taxes which the king had impoſed, the extenſion of the foreſts, and the practice of impriſoning thoſe who refuſed to comply

comply with such impositions, were voted contrary to law; and the greater part of monopolies was suppressed. It was likewise at this juncture that they passed the bill against pluralities, condemned the canons, and oath framed by the last convocation; carried up an accusation to the lords against thirteen bishops, who had assisted at that assembly; abolished the high commission. Dr. Wren bishop of Norwich, for having introduced innovations, and superstitious ceremonies in the church, was voted unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any office or dignity in church or commonwealth; and the lords, at the desire of the lower house, committed him to the Tower, voted the suppression of deans and chapters, and ordered all the subjects to subscribe the protestation. Lord Digby, son to the earl of Bristol, who had been formerly in the opposition, but lately distinguished himself in the defence of Strafford, was now called up to the house of peers, and became the king's chief minister and confident. When the commons demanded that the Irish army should be disbanded, the king gave them to understand, that he had promised to send four thousand men into the Spanish service. The lower house petitioned his majesty that he would retract his promise; and he insisting upon the performance of it, as an affair in which his honour was engaged, they published a declaration, importing, That every person concerned in transporting the Irish troops to foreign parts, should be regarded as an enemy to the state. This step effectually frustrated the king's intention; for no ship-master would expose himself to inevitable ruin, by embarking in such service. A. C. 1641. Nalson.

The treaty with the Scots being brought to a conclusion, Charles allowed the parliament of Scotland to assemble, and declared his intention of assisting at it in person. The commons suspecting that He visits Scotland,

A. C. 1641. that he designed to put himself at the head of his army in the north, on pretence of visiting his kingdom of Scotland, demanded a conference with the lords, and proposed that both armies should be dismissed before his departure; which the king, at their request, postponed till the tenth day of August. Both were accordingly disbanded at the same time, and the Scots returned to their own country, very well satisfied with their expedition. Then he set out upon his journey; but their distrust still subsisting, they proposed that a committee from both houses should attend the king in Scotland, on pretence of conferring with the Scottish parliament, though in reality to be spies upon his majesty's conduct. The earl of Bedford being nominated as one of the peers, declined the office; so that lord Howard of Escrick was the only member of that house who undertook the journey; and of the commons, the committee consisted of Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir William Armye, Sir Philip Stapleton, and John Hambden. The commons still continued sitting, and took several grievances into consideration. Then they resolved to adjourn from the ninth day of September till the twentieth day of October. This resolution was no sooner taken, than a great number of members from both houses retired to the country; and some rigid presbyterians took this opportunity to propose an alteration in the book of Common-prayer; which was so vigorously defended by Mr. Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, that no step was taken on the subject. The lords, during this dispute, voted that the book of Common-prayer should be used without any alteration. This vote produced a conference between the houses. The commons desired the lords would concur with them in publishing a declaration for suppressing all the late innovations in the church, and all diversions on the Lord's-day.

The

The lords, on the other hand, demanded the concurrence of the commons, in publishing an order of their house, prohibiting all change in divine worship as established by law. The lower house absolutely rejected this proposal, and ordered their declaration to be printed and published through the whole kingdom. They at the same time appointed a committee of three and forty members to manage affairs of importance during their adjournment: the lords established another for their house; and then the parliament adjourned to the twentieth day of October. A. C. 1641. Rushworth. Whitelocke.

The king, attended by the duke of Lennox, lately honoured with the additional title of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and the lord Willoughby, travelled post to Edinburgh, where he found it convenient to acquiesce in every thing which the parliament of Scotland proposed. James Graham earl of Montrose was at that time a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, through the influence of Argyle, who was his rival in popularity and ambition. During the treaty of Rippon, Montrose, though at first a covenanter, had conveyed a letter to the king, containing assurances of inviolable fidelity: and this being discovered, he was ever after suspected, and odious to the presbyterian party. He afterwards engaged the earls of Marischal, Wigton, Athol, Mar, and many other noblemen, in an association to maintain the royal authority. This transpiring, he and his confederates were summoned before a committee of the states, when they declared they had no design to undertake any thing to the detriment of the public. The earl was again summoned by the parliament, which ordered him to be confined in the castle of Edinburgh, where he now remained. The king, in order to conciliate the affection of the Scottish nation, promoted Argyle to the dignity of a mar- where he assents to divers popular acts of parliament.

A. C. 1641. a marquis, Loudon to an earldom; general Leſley was created earl of Leven; Henderſon, Gilleſpy, and other popular preachers, were gratified with penſions. In parliament, the lords of the articles were ſet aſide. A law was enacted to prevent foreigners from being created peers of Scotland, without proper qualification, ſuch as poſſeſſing eſtates in the kingdom. A bill for triennial parliaments was paſſed; and it was decreed that no member of the privy-council, judge, or officer of ſtate, ſhould be appointed without the approbation of parliament. The lord Henry Ker, ſon to the earl of Roxburgh, ſent a challenge to the marquis of Hamilton by the earl of Crawford, defying him to ſingle combat, as a traitor to God, to his king, and his country: the marquis complained of his inſolence to the king and the parliament, before whom he was obliged to aſk pardon on his knees. Immediately after this diſturbance was appeaſed, Hamilton and Argyle withdrew themſelves abruptly from parliament, on pretence that a plot was formed againſt their lives, by the earl of Crawford, and ſome other gentlemen, who were immediately confined; but upon enquiry, it was found a falſe alarm, probably concerted between the Engliſh commiſſioners then at Edinburgh, and the two marquiſſes, to keep up the diſquiets of both nations.

Guthry.

Intelligence of this pretended conſpiracy being conveyed to Pym, chairman of the committee appointed to ſit during the receſs of parliament, the houſes no ſooner met, than he made a report of this affair. The commons immediately demanded a conference with the lords, to whom they repreſented their fears of a dangerous conſpiracy by papiſts in Scotland; then propoſed that the cities of London and Weſtminſter ſhould be ſtrictly guarded, and the kingdom be put in a poſture of defence.

Nalſon.

fence. The peers assented to the proposal; and both houses demanded a guard of the earl of Essex, whom the king had lately appointed general of the forces to the south of the river Trent. Next day warm debates arose in the house of commons, touching the declaration which they had published before the adjournment, and which many persons refused to obey, alledging, that such an order could not have the force of a law. The next subjects that ingrossed their attention was the prosecution of the bishops who had assisted at the last convocation; and the bill for excluding all prelates from sitting in parliament. In a conference with the lords, Pym made a speech against the bishops; and afterwards St. John explained the reasons for an act to abolish their votes in parliament. He said they had no inherent right as temporal lords, who are peers of the kingdom, because they were not the representatives of any class, not even of the clergy, who were otherwise represented in the convocation; because they could not act as temporal lords in causes of life and death; and several acts had passed in former reigns, without their consent, such as that of Elizabeth, touching the book of Common-prayer. In the reign of Henry VIII. and in the case of Dr. Standish, the judges declared, that the king had a power to convoke a parliament, without sending writs to the bishops. In the time of Edward I. the clergy had been excluded from a parliament held at Carlisle. It does not appear from antient records that prelates voted in affairs which concerned the clergy; for they either import that the king having consulted with the earls, barons, and other nobles, gave his assent to such an act; or that "The act was passed with the consent of "the earls, barons, and other laymen," without any mention of the bishops. This scheme of exclusion met with such opposition in the house of lords, A. C. 1642. Prosecution of the bishops by the English house of commons. Rushworth,

A. C. 1641. where the biſhops themſelves voted, that it was poſtponed to another opportunity.

Had the leading men in the oppoſition entertained no other deſign but that of redreſſing the grievances of the nation, and aſcertaining the liberties of the people, their aim was now accompliſhed, and they would have reſted content with the triumphs they had obtained over the prerogative. But their views ſeem to have extended with their ſucceſs: they reſolved to humble the king in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould never have it in his power to puniſh them for the mortifications to which they had ſubjected him. They determined to aboliſh the hierarchy, not only as the conſtant ſupport of monarchical government, but alſo as the bulwark and mound that oppoſed the tide of puritaniſm, which now bade ſo fair for overflowing the three kingdoms. The chiefs, who managed the machines of oppoſition in both houſes, were the earl of Eſſex, the lords Say and Kimbolton, for the peers; Pym, Hambden, St. John, Fiennes, Vane, and Hollis, for the commons. Eſſex was a popular nobleman, of ſolid ſenſe and great authority in parliament: vanity and ambition were his predominant foibles; and his conduct was in a good meaſure influenced by private animoſity againſt the court, where he had been but indifferently treated. Lord viſcount Say was cloſe, ambitious, a bigotted puritan, and an indefatigable ſtickler againſt the arbitrary meaſures of the miniſtry. The lord Kimbolton had acquired great popularity by his good nature, generoſity, and inſinuating addreſs. He diſapproved of the court maxims from principle, and attached himſelf to the oppoſite party, with which he was in high eſtimation. Pym had more experience in parliament than any other member: he was a man of buſineſs, reflection, and ſagacity, tinctured with republican principles, though not inſpired

Character of the earl of Eſſex, the lords Say and Kimbolton. Pym, Hambden, St. John, Fiennes, Vane, and Hollis.

*WILLIAM* Viſcount *SAY* and *SEALE*.

inſpired with the fury of fanaticiſm. John Hamb- A. C. 1641.
den poſſeſſed a great ſhare of courage, cunning, and diſcernment; ſpoke with great art and energy in the houſe of commons, and concealed the moſt enterprizing genius under the cloak of diffidence, humility, and moderation. St. John was a natural ſon of the houſe of Bolingbroke, and a lawyer by profeſſion. He had parts and induſtry; but was dark, cloudy, and reſerved, proud, and revengeful; an enemy to the church from principle, and a foe to the court from reſentment; for he had been impriſoned on ſuſpicion of ſeditious practices. Nathaniel Fiennes, ſecond ſon of the lord Say, inherited his father's principles both in politics and religion. He had acquired a good ſhare of learning in the univerſity of Oxford; ſpent ſome time in Geneva, Switzerland, and Scotland, where he was confirmed in his averſion to the church of England, and at length became a popular ſpeaker in the houſe of commons. Sir Henry Vane, ſon to the ſecretary, poſſeſſed great natural talents, and the moſt profound diſſimulation. His conception was quick and penetrating, and he ſpoke with great weight and facility. He had ſtudied in Magdalen-college at Oxford, and afterwards travelled to Geneva, where he contracted the moſt rancorous hatred to the diſcipline and liturgy of the Engliſh church. He made a voyage to New-England, that he might enjoy liberty of conſcience; and, upon his return to England, was appointed joint-treaſurer of the navy: but he was incenſed againſt the earl of Strafford, by that nobleman's procuring for himſelf the title of baron Raby, an houſe belonging to the Vane family, and proſecuted him with all the bitterneſs of revenge. In this purſuit he cultivated the friendſhip of Pym and his aſſociates, and ſoon acquired the confidence of the whole party. But no one of the demagogues was

A.C. 1641. more valued and esteemed than Denzil Hollis, brother to the earl of Clare, a person of rare accomplishments and unblemished character. He had formerly opposed the court and the duke of Buckingham, and suffered a long imprisonment and severe prosecution, the memory of which he retained with the keenest acrimony. To these leaders, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Strode, Hasterigg, Hotham, Cholmley, and Stapleton, were subordinate, obeying their dictates with the most implicit regard. The commons, not satisfied with the concessions they had already extorted from their sovereign, and planning still further alterations in the constitution, seemed now apprehensive of the king's reconciling himself intirely with his people. In order to blow up the embers of their animosity, they resolved to draw up and publish a remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, in which they might recapitulate with exaggerations every instance of misconduct, and each arbitrary measure chargeable upon the king since his accession to the throne, and alarm the nation with imaginary dangers. This they imagined would provoke the king to take some step that would produce a new quarrel, and furnish them with a pretence for postponing the settlement of his revenues, which the king expected in return for all his condescension.

Clarendon.

While the committee was employed in composing this famous remonstrance, their work was interrupted by an unexpected incident of such importance, as claimed their whole attention: this was the rebellion in Ireland. The old Roman catholic Irish had, by the increase of puritanism in that kingdom, been of late treated with great rigour in point of religion; so that their inveteracy against the protestant planters was inflamed with fresh rancour. When they reflected on the state of England, where the constitution was unhinged, and

and the power of the ſovereign almoſt annihilated A. C. 1641.
by the factious commons; when they conſidered, that the three armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, were diſbanded, except an handful of troops ſcattered up and down their own country in ſingle companies, they thought the preſent conjuncture was the faireſt opportunity they ſhould ever enjoy for retrieving their antient poſſeſſions, and re-eſtabliſhing the exerciſe of their religion. They were quickened by the apprehenſion of further perſecution from the puritanical ſpirit of the times: for the Scottiſh covenanters, and their brethren of England, had publicly threatened to exterminate the papiſts of Ireland. They were animated by ſeeing the ſucceſs of the Scots, who had reduced the king to a compliance with all their demands. They were exhorted by their prieſts to riſe in defence of their religion and liberty; they were encouraged with hope of ſuccour by cardinal Richelieu; and their countrymen, who ſerved in foreign armies, promiſed to diſcipline and conduct them in ſuch a laudable enterprize. The proteſtants in Ireland were but a handful in compariſon with the number of the natives, among whom they lived in the moſt ſupine ſecurity. There was a magazine of arms, ammunition, and artillery at Dublin, almoſt quite unguarded; and Sir William Parſons, and Sir John Borlace, the lords juſtices, were altogether unequal to the taſk of government which they had undertaken. All theſe conſiderations occurred to Roger More, a man of valour and capacity, who inculcated them upon the lord Maguire and Sir Phelim Oneal, two of the moſt powerful Iriſh chieftains. In a word, all the native Iriſh were engaged in a conſpiracy to expel the Engliſh. They reſolved to riſe throughout all the provinces in one day, and attack the Engliſh ſettlements; and lord Maguire, with Roger

Rebellion in Ireland

A. C. 1641. More, undertook to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin. All the preparations were made for this inſurrection; Maguire and More had already repaired to Dublin with a good number of their confederates, and intended to attack the caſtle in the morning. One Oconnolly, a proteſtant, diſcovered the ſecret to the juſtices, who forthwith retired into the caſtle with a reinforcement, and alarmed the city: Maguire was taken, but Roger More eſcaped. This diſcovery did not prevent the general inſurrection which began in Ulſter. The unhappy Engliſh were firſt plundered, and then maſſacred without diſtinction of age or ſex. Such ſcenes of cruelty were acted by Sir Phelim Oneal and his followers, that the bare deſcription of them fills the mind with horror. Death and deſolation appeared likewiſe in the other provinces, and even in more miſerable ſhapes, though the rebels did not ſo deeply imbrue their hands in blood. They ſtripped the wretched Engliſh of their very cloaths, and drove men, women, and children naked into the fields, to periſh by famine and the inclemencies of a tempeſtuous winter. The roads were crouded with ſuch ſpectacles of diſtreſs and miſery, as one would think muſt have ſoftened the heart of the moſt ſavage barbarian. The ſhivering, the dying, and the dead; the old and infirm, fainting with cold and hunger; the children clamorous for food and ſhelter; the mother weeping over her expiring infant; the wife ſhrieking with terror and diſmay; the huſband groaning with unutterable woe; formed a moſt diſmal variety of human ſufferings and deſpair; nature, the moſt barbarous and uncultivated, would have been unable to perpetrate ſuch barbarity, had it not been exaſperated beyond all feeling, by religious phrenzy. The ruffian bigots not only exulted in the calamity which they had produced, but even triumphed in the hope that

thoſe

thoſe wretched ſuffers would be damned to all eternity. In this forlorn condition ſome thouſands reached the city of Dublin, where they were received with compaſſion and treated with humanity. Many died of ſtrange diſtempers, occaſioned by the complicated fatigues of mind and body which they had undergone. A good number ſunk under the weight of grief and affliction; others refuſed all ſuſtenance, unable to ſurvive their families and friends. Above forty thouſand helpleſs victims fell by this brutal barbarity, of which there is ſcarce a parallel in the records of any age or nation. The juſtices aſſembled all the troops that were not already ſurrounded by the rebels; and theſe, together with ſuch as enliſted in the ſervice, amounted to ſix thouſand: but ſix hundred, being detached to the relief of Tredagh, beſieged by the natives, were routed and put to the ſword. The earl of Ormond, lieutenant-general, propoſed to attack the inſurgents before they ſhould be armed and diſciplined; but the juſtices, who were puritans, induced either by fear or worſe motives, reſolved to act upon the defenſive only. The Engliſh of the Pale (ſuch was the appellation given to the deſcendents of the firſt Engliſh ſettlers who ſtill profeſſed the religion of their forefathers) expreſſed their deteſtation of this rebellion, and were ſupplied with arms to be employed in defence of the government. But they ſoon joined the native Iriſh under the lord Gormanſtone; ſo that the principal army of the rebels amounted to twenty thouſand men, and threatened to beſiege Dublin. In order to allure the people to their ſtandard, they called themſelves the queen's army, affirmed that their intent was to aſſert the royal prerogative againſt the inſolence of a puritanical parliament; and Sir Phelim Oneal, having found a royal pa-

A. C. 1642.

Temple.

Carte.

A. C. 1641. tent in the houſe of lord Caulfield, whom he had murdered, affixed the ſeal of it to a forged commiſſion, which he pretended to have received from his majeſty.

Reſolution in the Engliſh parliament for reducing the Iriſh rebels.

The king was no ſooner informed of this revolt, by a letter from the north of Ireland, than he diſpatched a meſſenger with intelligence to the parliament of England; and demanded immediate ſuccours from the parliament of Scotland. But, notwithſtanding all their profeſſions of duty to the king, and attachment to the proteſtant religion, they excuſed themſelves from taking any ſuch meaſures, alledging, that as Ireland depended upon England, the Engliſh parliament would undoubtedly provide for its ſecurity; whereas, ſhould they intermeddle in the affair of their own accord, they might incur the jealouſy of their brethren. The commons of England being informed of this diſaſter, reſolved, with the concurrence of the upper houſe, to borrow fifty thouſand pounds of the city of London for the relief of Ireland: That the conſent of the lords ſhould be ſolicited for depriving the lord Weſton of the government of the Iſle of Wight, becauſe he was a reputed papiſt: That the principal Roman catholics in England ſhould be ſecured, and the queen's monaſtery of capuchins diſſolved. Other precautions were taken with regard to foreigners, who were not proteſtants. They afterwards voted, That two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be provided for the war of Ireland: That eight thouſand men ſhould be raiſed and tranſported to that country: That a magazine of arms and ammunition ſhould be eſtabliſhed at Cheſter for the uſe of Dublin; and the ammunition at Carliſle be ſent to Carrickfergus: That the committee appointed for the affairs of Ireland ſhould deliberate upon the means of recompenſing thoſe

those who should inlist as volunteers for this service; of granting a pardon to those of the rebels who should submit; and of setting a price on the heads of their leaders: That it should inquire in what shape they could use the assistance of the Scots to the best advantage; and bring in a bill for impressing soldiers for the war in Ireland. A. C. 1641.

Notwithstanding all this appearance of ardour, and the repeated importunities of the justices, the supplies they sent were so inconsiderable, that they seemed calculated to keep alive the war, rather than subdue the rebels. They had found their account in the Scottish invasion; and now they determined to make advantage of the Irish rebellion, to foment the fears of the people, and keep the king in a sort of dependence. Charles, with a view to disprove the calumny which the Irish had fixed upon his character, pressed the parliament, with redoubled instances, to take measures for suppressing the insurgents; and this eagerness supplied the commons with a pretence for suspecting his integrity. They affected to apprehend a design of enslaving the parliament when the kingdom should be unfurnished of troops; and really dreaded his influence with the army that should be raised. He had imprudently committed to their care and wisdom, the conduct and prosecution of the war, that they might proceed with the more vigour in an affair of such national importance. They interpreted this expression in the most unlimited sense, even to the annihilation of the king's authority. They raised money for the Irish war, but reserved the greatest part of it for other purposes: they removed arms from the king's magazines, and employed them afterwards against his own person: they enlisted men, and appointed officers, by which means they acquired great influence in the army; and though a considerable time elapsed before any troops were sent over,

A. C. 1641. over, the fault was never imputed to them, but to the malcontents about the king's perſon. With a view to mortify and provoke the king, they ſent freſh inſtructions to their committee in Scotland, importing, that they had reaſon to believe the Iriſh rebellion was the effect of evil counſels, given by thoſe who continued in places of truſt and honour about the king. They deſired his majeſty to remove theſe evil counſellors, otherwiſe they ſhould take more effectual meaſures to prevent the danger with which the kingdom was threatened. This addreſs was a prelude to the remonſtrance, which they brought into the houſe on the twenty-ſecond day of November. It was an appeal to the people, replete with the moſt virulent malignity againſt the king, whoſe adminiſtration was charged anew with every ſhadow of a grievance which the nation had endured ſince the commencement of his reign; and even with every misfortune which had happened from the accidents of war, aggravated with all the force of rhetoric and hyperbole. There was ſtill a moderate party in the houſe, that oppoſed this remonſtrance with great vigour; and very warm debates ariſing, the commons ſat till three o'clock in the morning, when it was carried by a majority of nine only, after many of the moderate members had retired, quite exhauſted with fatigue. It was immediately printed, in conſequence of another vote, which likewiſe met with ſtrong oppoſition; nor did they even deign to communicate it to the upper houſe.

The remonſtrance carried by a majority in the houſe of commons.

On the twenty-fifth day of November, the king returning from Scotland, was received in the city of London with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy and reſpect; and when he arrived at Whitehall, he diſmiſſed the guard which the earl of Eſſex had granted for the protection of parliament. Both houſes petitioned, that the guard might be continued: but

It is preſented to the king at Hampton-court.

but Charles obſerved, there was no neceſſity for maintaining ſuch a guard, which ſerved no other purpoſe but that of fomenting the fears and ſuſpicions of the people. He promiſed, however, in caſe of neceſſity, to furniſh them with a guard, under the command of the earl of Dorſet: but this they rejected. The king retiring in a few days to Hampton-court, the commons ſent thither a deputation, with the remonſtrance tacked to a petition, repreſenting, That the malignant party, whoſe conduct evidently tended to the advantage and growth of popery, was guided by jeſuits, and other emiſſaries of Rome, which had even corrupted ſeveral biſhops; and found means to inſinuate themſelves into the privy-council, and offices of truſt about his majeſty. They, for theſe reaſons, beſought him to concur with his people in a parliamentary way, in providing for the ſafety of the kingdom againſt the malicious deſigns of the papiſts: That he would conſent to their purpoſe of expelling the biſhops from parliament; of reſtraining the power they had uſurped over the clergy; aboliſhing the innovations and vexations they had introduced; and of executing the good laws which had been enacted for ſecuring the liberty of his ſubjects: That he would remove from his council thoſe who favoured the oppreſſion with which the people had been afflicted; and employ in the adminiſtration ſuch perſons only as ſhould be agreeable to the parliament, notwithſtanding the ſolicitation of any perſon whatever. Though the king could not but be ſhocked at this petition and remonſtrance, which were in effect manifeſtos againſt him, printed and publiſhed contrary to his expreſs deſire, he made a very moderate, though general anſwer to the firſt; and in the ſequel publiſhed a declaration in anſwer to the remonſtrance: but his credit was by this time reduced ſo low with the nation, that it produced very A. C. 1641.

little

A. C. 1641. little effect in his favour. In the beginning of December, the king going to the houſe of lords to paſs the act of tonnage and poundage for a few months only, gave both houſes to underſtand, That far from repenting his having paſſed the bills which had been preſented during this ſeſſion, he would repeat the ſame conduct on the ſame occaſion; and grant every thing that could be reaſonably demanded for the maintenance of the liberties and religion of his ſubjects. He recommended diſpatch in the relief of Ireland; and deſired they would appoint commiſſioners to treat with the two Scottiſh noblemen deputed by the parliament of that kingdom, to receive their propoſals touching the ſuccours to be ſent from thence to Ireland. A committee was immediately appointed for this purpoſe. The Iriſh rebels, having in a memorial to the juſtices, demanded liberty of conſcience, the commons of England deſired a conference with the lords: and both houſes ſolemnly declared, that they would never conſent to a toleration of the Roman religion in Ireland.

Difference between the king and the commons, touching the bill for preſſing ſoldiers.

The king and the puritan party ſeemed equally ſuſpicious, and afraid of each other. The commons intended to employ ten thouſand Scots in the reduction of Ireland, that England might not be left unprovided. The king deſired to ſend over an equal number of Engliſh and Scots, and the lords eſpouſed his opinion. The commons declared, That unleſs the bill for preſſing ſhould paſs, it would be impoſſible to levy troops in England for the ſervice. They had already impriſoned lord Dillon, and lord Taaffe, ſent to the king by the lord juſtices of Ireland, with propoſitions from the rebels; and they ſeized their papers, among which they hoped to find ſomething to the prejudice of their ſovereign. They petitioned the king to declare the Iriſh rebels and traitors; and he publiſhed a proclamation for this pur-

purpose: but by the secretary's order, the printer was forbid to cast off a greater number than fifty copies. The king having received notice of an intended tumult at Westminster, ordered the sheriff to place a guard upon the parliament, which was immediately dismissed by the house of commons. The king being informed of their having brought in a bill for pressing soldiers, in which there was a clause contrary to his prerogative of levying troops; and that this bill had been already sent to the lords, he resolved to prevent its being enacted into a law without some qualification. He convened both houses, and told them, he was content to pass the bill, provided they would insert this clause, "Saving the rights of king and people." A committee for both houses was immediately appointed, to take this proposal into consideration; and, upon their report, the lords and commons voted, That the king had violated the privileges of parliament, in proposing a limitation to a bill before it was presented; in taking cognizance of a bill while it was in agitation; and, in expressing resentment against him or them, who had made any motion about the bill while it was in debate. A. C. 1641.

They published a declaration, and presented an address upon the same subject; to which he answered in writing, that nothing was farther from his intention than any thought of violating their privileges. He gave them further cause of offence, in taking the lieutenancy of the Tower from Sir William Balfour, who was their creature; and bestowing it upon colonel Lunsford, a man of an enterprising spirit, and a very indifferent character. The Londoners immediately presented a petition against this officer, as a man of bad morals, representing the importance of such a trust, and intreating the commons to take the affair into their consideration. The lower house desired the concurrence

The commons demand that Lunsford shall be deprived of the lieutenancy of the Tower.

of

A. C. 1641. of the lords, in petitioning his majesty to appoint Sir John Conyers lieutenant of the Tower; but the peers refused to concur with a demand which was so manifestly contrary to the royal prerogative. The commons, incensed at this repulse, voted, that Lunsford was not a proper person for this office: they published a declaration, specifying the causes of their fear and distrust; expatiating upon the continual obstacles they encountered in the upper house, which was filled with bishops and popish lords; and protesting against all the mischiefs that would happen, should the command of the Tower remain in the hands of Lunsford: at the same time, they desired the earl of Newport to reside in the place of which he was constable. The apprentices assembling in great numbers, presented a petition to the king against papists, innovators, and bishops; and the whole city was filled with tumult. Then Charles deprived Lunsford of his office; but, at the same time, dismissed the earl of Newport from his government, because he had been told, that during his absence in Scotland, the earl, at an assembly in Kensington, where mention was made of a conspiracy in that kingdom, said, "If there is really such a "conspiracy, we have his wife and children in our "power." The earl, however, denied that he had ever used such an expression.

The earl of Newport dismissed from the office of constable.

The leaders of the opposition, as a previous step to the exclusion of the bishops, thought proper to excite popular clamours against them, and employed their emissaries to raise tumults. A great multitude of the populace assembling at Westminster, exclaimed, "No bishops, no bishops," and insulted some prelates going to parliament. Captain Hyde, with some other disbanded officers being present, drew his sword, and proposed to chastise those Round-heads: but being unsupported, he was apprehended and carried before the commons, who com-

Tumults at Westminster countenanced by the commons.

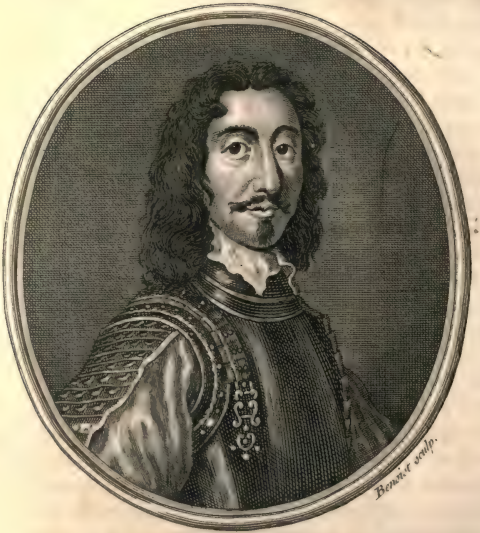
committed him to prison. Hence arose the appellation of Round-heads, suggested by the cropped hair worn by the apprentices; who, in their turn, reproached their antagonists with the name of Cavaliers. In a few hours after this adventure, Lunsford and some other officers fell upon the multitude with their swords, and wounded above twenty apprentices. An infinite number of the populace immediately crowded to Westminster, armed with swords and staves; and the two cities were filled with uproar and confusion. The mayor of London ordered the gates to be shut: the king sent for the trained-bands to Whitehall. The lords, by their usher, commanded the people to retire; and the mob refusing to obey the order, demanded the concurrence of the commons, in publishing a declaration against tumults, and desiring a guard of his majesty. The lower house pretended it was too late to deliberate upon such a proposal: in the mean time, they empowered a committee to set at liberty such of the rioters as were imprisoned. The tumults continuing next day, they took no step to disperse the people; and Mr. Pym being exhorted to use his influence for this purpose, is said to have replied, "God forbid that the people should be hindered from obtaining their just desires." A. C. 1641.

Twelve prelates meeting at the house of the archbishop of York, subscribed a protest, which was presented to the king and lords, importing, That as they had an incontestible right to vote in parliament, they were ready to do their duty, if not prevented by force and violence: That they abhorred all opinions tending to the advancement of popery: That as they had been insulted, and their lives endangered by the fury of the populace, they could no longer repair to the house of peers, unless measures should be taken for their personal safety: and therefore they protested against all laws, votes, and Protest by twelve bishops.

A. C. 1641. and resolutions, that should be made in their absence. The lords no sooner received this protest, which was, in effect, an effort to dissolve or suspend the parliament; than they demanded a conference with the commons, who having taken it into consideration, resolved to accuse the bishops of high treason, for having attempted to subvert the fundamental laws, and the very essence of parliaments.

who are accused of high treason, and imprisoned. This resolution was immediately executed; and the twelve bishops were committed to prison. Next day the commons sent a deputation to the king, desiring he would appoint a guard for their security, under the command of Essex, in whom they could confide; and the king demanding a message to this effect in writing, they, in the mean time, provided themselves with a number of halberds in their own defence. They were apprehensive of Lunsford and his confederates, as well as of the students of the inns of court, who had appeared in a body at Whitehall, and offered their service to his majesty, from whom they met with a very gracious reception. He dreaded the consequence of such tumultuous assemblies of the populace; he sent orders to the common-council to take measures for preventing those disorderly meetings; and in answer to the message of the commons, he said, he saw no foundation for their fears; that he would protect them with the same care he should exert in defence of his own wife and children; or should this assurance prove insufficient, he would appoint a guard, for which he himself would be responsible.

A. C. 1642. The king orders five commoners to be impeached of high treason; The mutual suspicion and distrust subsisting between the king and parliament, had now proceeded so far, that both sides foresaw a rupture; and each endeavoured to find a pretext from the other's conduct. At this critical conjuncture, the king took the most imprudent step that ever was devised by a weak and rash minister. The lord Digby persuaded




*LORD KIMBOLTON.*

ſuaded him to impeach the moſt popular men in parliament of high treaſon. On the third day of January, the attorney-general going to the houſe of peers, gave them to underſtand the king had commanded him to accuſe the lord Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis, Arthur Haſlerig, John Pym, John Hambden, and William Strode, of high treaſon: at the ſame time, he delivered the general articles of the charge, which he had received from his majeſty's own hand. They were taxed with having endeavoured to ſubvert the government, ſtrip the king of his prerogative, and veſt the ſubjects with an arbitrary power over the lives, effects, and liberties of the people: with having calumniated the king, in order to render him odious to his people: with having attempted to perſuade the late army to diſobey the king's orders, and to aſſiſt them in executing their treaſonable deſigns: with having traiterouſly incited and invited a foreign power to invade England: with having eſſayed to ſubvert the foundation and eſſence of parliaments: and with having employed force and terror, and encouraged tumults againſt the king and parliament. The attorney added, it was the king's deſire, that a committee ſhould be appointed to examine witneſſes, under an oath of ſecrecy; and that the lords would ſecure the perſons of the accuſed. The peers immediately nominated a committee to examine the regularity of theſe proceedings, and to ſearch the regiſters, that they might know, whether or not a peer of the realm had, ever before this period, been impeached at the bar of the lords by the king's attorney-general: at the ſame time, they tranſmitted the accuſation of the five members of the lower houſe to the commons, who having received notice that the king's officers had ſealed up the cabinets of thoſe accuſed members, ſent their ſerjeant to take off the ſeals, and impriſon thoſe who had applied them. A.C. 1642.

A. C. 1642. An order was likewiſe made, that in caſe the ſame violence ſhould be offered to any other member, he might require the aſſiſtance of the conſtable, to apprehend and detain the officer ſo acting.

and goes in perſon to the houſe in order to apprehend them.

In a conference with the upper houſe, they expatiated upon this inſult; and as the king had a ſtrong guard at Whitehall, propoſed, that the parliament ſhould take the ſame precaution, or adjourn to ſome place of ſafety. During their deliberations on this ſubject, a ſerjeant at arms repaired to the lower houſe; and in the king's name, demanded that the accuſed members ſhould be delivered into his hands. The commons ſent a deputation to the king, repreſenting, that they would take his meſſage into conſideration; and that, in the mean time, the five accuſed members ſhould be ready to anſwer any charge according to law. They were accordingly ordered to attend every day in the houſe. The king deferred his anſwer till next morning, but declared that the ſerjeant had acted in obedience to his command. The commons being aſſembled next day, were informed that the king approached with his band of penſioners, and a great number of armed attendants. The five members immediately withdrew; and they had ſcarce quitted the houſe, when the king entering, walked up to the ſpeaker's chair, ſaying, "By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I muſt make "uſe of your chair for a moment." Having ſeated himſelf, and looked round, he told the houſe he was ſorry for the occaſion that forced him thither: that he was come in perſon to ſeize the members whom he had accuſed of high treaſon, ſeeing they would not deliver them to his ſerjeant at arms. Addreſſing himſelf to the ſpeaker, he deſired to know, whether any of them were in the houſe. The ſpeaker falling on his knees, replied, That he had neither eyes to ſee, nor tongue to ſpeak in that place, but as the houſe was pleaſed to direct him; and he begged

Rushworth. Nalſon. Whitelock.

ged his majeſty's pardon, that he could give no other anſwer. The king carefully ſurveying the houſe, ſaid the birds were flown; but he expected they would ſecure and deliver them into his hands. He declared his intention was, to try them in a fair and legal manner; and maintain whatever had been done in favour of the ſubject. When he retired, a great number of members cried aloud, "Privilege, "privilege!" ſo that he heard the exclamation. Then the houſe was adjourned till next day, when they voted, That the king had violated their privileges: and, That they could not aſſemble again in the ſame place, until they ſhould have obtained ſatisfaction, and a guard for their ſecurity. They appointed a committee of four and twenty members to ſit in Guildhall, and deliberate upon the ſteps that ſhould be taken for ſecuring the kingdom, and maintaining the privileges of parliament. Then they informed the lords of the tranſaction of the preceding day; and adjourned from the fifth to the eleventh day of January. A. C. 1642.

The king having ordered the mayor of London to aſſemble the common-council at Guildhall, went thither, and in paſſing through the ſtreets had the mortification to hear the people exclaim, "Privi- "lege, privilege!" Nay, a paper was thrown into his coach, inſcribed with theſe words, "To your "tents, O Iſrael." He told the common-council, that he was come to demand the perſons accuſed of high-treaſon, who, he underſtood, were concealed in the city. He demanded their aſſiſtance in apprehending the delinquents, that they might be tried according to law; and he declared, upon his royal word, that his intention was to defend the proteſtant religion to the laſt day of his life againſt all its enemies. This declaration had very little weight with the citizens, who were generally of the puritan faction; and had ſeverely ſmarted under his adminiſtration. He harangues the mayor and common-council at Guildhall.

A. C. 1642. ſtration. Inſtead of complying with his deſire, the common-council preſented a petition, repreſenting the decay of trade, and the terrors of the citizens, occaſioned by the progreſs of the rebellion in Ireland, fomented by the papiſts of England: they complained of the delay of ſuccours deſtined for Ireland; of a plot againſt the proteſtant religion; the change of lieutenant of the Tower; the extraordinary armaments at Whitehall; endeavours to gain over the ſtudents of the law; the miſunderſtanding between king and parliament, and his majeſty's entering the houſe of commons to ſeize ſome of the members, contrary to the privileges of parliament. Charles, in his anſwer, made a particular reply to all theſe articles; and concluded with a profeſſion of particular eſteem for the city of London. He next day publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all magiſtrates and officers of juſtice, to apprehend the accuſed members, and convey them to the Tower; but no regard was paid to his profeſſions or commands. The committee of four and twenty came to the following reſolutions: That the publication of the articles charged againſt the accuſed members, was a manifeſt violation of the privileges of parliament, and a ſeditious act tending to the interruption of the public peace: That the ſaid privileges could not be properly maintained, unleſs his majeſty ſhould pleaſe to name thoſe who had adviſed him to ſeal the cloſets and cabinets of the accuſed members; to ſend a ſerjeant at arms, with orders to arreſt them in the houſe of commons; to go thither himſelf; and to publiſh the charge in the form of a proclamation, to the end that thoſe pernicious counſellors might be brought to condign puniſhment.

The king, afraid of expoſing himſelf to ſome inſult from ſuch a tumultuous populace, retired to Windſor; and the houſe of commons meeting on the

the eleventh day of January at Weſtminſter, the committee went thither by water, attended by a great number of watermen, who undertook to guard them from violence. Charles, in order to attone for the wrong ſtep he had taken, ſent a meſſage to the two houſes, giving them to underſtand, that he deſiſted from his proſecution of the lord Kimbolton, and the five members: that his intention was to proceed againſt them in a more unexceptionable manner: and that he would take as much care of the privileges of parliament as of his own crown and life. He afterwards repeated the ſame aſſurances in a ſecond meſſage; and intreated them to deliberate upon the ſituation of Ireland, as an intereſting ſubject that required vigour and diſpatch. Far from being ſatisfied with theſe inſtances of condeſcenſion, they confirmed the reſolution of their committee, in the form of a declaration. They impeached the attorney-general for having violated their privileges, in preſenting articles againſt their members to the upper houſe, although he acted by his majeſty's expreſs command; and the two houſes petitioned the king to communicate the proofs he could produce againſt the ſix members. The king left it to their choice, whether he ſhould proceed againſt them before the parliament, or according to common law. They rejected the alternative, and inſiſted upon their former demand. Then Charles, in a third meſſage, deſiſted intirely from the purſuit; and as a proof of his affection for his ſubjects, offered to grant a general pardon in ſuch manner as ſhould be agreeable to the parliament. Even this conceſſion produced no effect in his favour. They, in another petition, demanded that he would be pleaſed to deliver up to juſtice thoſe evil counſellors by whom he had been miſled; and the lords paſſed ſentence againſt Sir Edward Herbert, the attorney-general, declaring him incapable of exerciſing any

A. C. 1642.

The commons impeach the attorney-general.

A. C. 1642. other employment than that which he at present enjoyed; and committing him to custody during the pleasure of the house.

Rushworth.

Nalson, The mutual distrust of the king and parliament daily increased. Sir John Biron, lieutenant of the Tower, was summoned to appear at the bar of the house of commons, to explain the reasons that induced him to send arms and ammunition to White-hall, at the time when the king entered the lower house; but he excused himself from obeying their citation, as he had his majesty's express command to keep within his garrison. The commons rejected the king's offer of furnishing them with a guard commanded by the earl of Lindsey, and ordered major-general Skippon to attend them every day with two companies of the London militia. Hearing that lord Digby had assembled about two hundred officers on horseback at Kingston upon Thames, they sent orders to the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties to raise their posses, and attack those who should attempt to invade the peace of the kingdom: and they cautioned colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, against delivering up the place to any person, or admitting any troops, but in consequence of the king's order, notified by both houses of parliament. They circulated a report that the king had formed the design of surprising Portsmouth; and even examined some evidences on the subject. The lords sent an express order to lord Digby, to return and resume his seat in parliament; but knowing himself obnoxious to both houses, as the king's chief counsellor and confident, he prudently withdrew himself from the kingdom.

Lord Digby retires to the continent.

The two houses appoint Sir John Hotham governor of Hull, The lords and commons concurred in appointing Sir John Hotham governor of Hull, where there was a magazine of arms, which the king had purchased for the Scottish war. Hotham received an order from the parliament, of which he was a member,

*Lord Digby.*

ber, forbidding him to deliver the place to any person whatsoever, but such as should be commissioned by the king and both houses of parliament. They brought in a bill for adjourning themselves to some other place of safety, as though they believed themselves in danger at Westminster. They forbade the earl of Newport, master of the ordnance, and the lieutenant of the Tower, to part with any cannon or warlike stores: they ordered the sheriffs of London and Westminster to keep a constant guard for blocking up the Tower. They seized some saddles designed for Kingston; and in consequence of false information given by Bagshaw, one of their own members, they directed Skippon, whom they had raised to the dignity of a major-general, to detach a party of horsemen to Windsor for intelligence. The earls of Essex and Holland, being ordered to give attendance on the king, as lord-chamberlain and groom of the stole, the lords forbade them to absent themselves from parliament, where their presence was necessary for the service of the public. Such acts of usurpation were manifest proofs of their having already annihilated the king's authority. A. C. 1642. and block up the Tower of London.

During these transactions, the protestant interest in Ireland remained in a most forlorn situation. Charles offered to levy ten thousand men for that service; but the parliament insisted upon an act for pressing soldiers, that they might have it in their power to extend their influence, by granting commissions to their own adherents. A bill for this purpose had been sent up to the lords, but had not yet passed the upper house. Mean while, the Scottish commissioners offered their mediation to compromise the differences betwen the king and parliament; but as they had not previously communicated their intention to his majesty, he rejected their offer as an insult; while the two houses thanked

A. C. 1642. Some Scots troops sent over to the north of Ireland.

them for this mark of their affection. Nevertheleſs, he aſſented to a propoſal of the Iriſh committee, that two thouſand five hundred Scottiſh troops already levied, ſhould be forthwith tranſported to the north of Ireland, and be put in poſſeſſion of Carrickfergus for their head-quarters.

Petitions delivered to the houſe of commons, by apprentices, porters, women, the mayor and aldermen, and divers counties.

The commons ſtill continued to court popularity, and alarm the nation with imaginary terrors. The accuſed members had been brought to the houſe in triumph, attended by a cavalcade of the citizens. Petitions were delivered by the apprentices, porters, and even by a multitude of women, headed by a brewer's wife, who compared herſelf to the woman of Tekoah; and claimed a right equal to that of men, in communicating their ſenſe of the public danger, becauſe Chriſt had died for them as well as for the other ſex. Addreſſes of the ſame nature were preſented by the inhabitants of Buckinghamſhire, Hertfordſhire, and Eſſex, complaining of the decay of trade, the growth of popery, and the malignant party by which the king was miſled; petitioning, that the evil counſellors might be removed from his majeſty: that the kingdom ſhould be put in a poſture of defence by order of the two houſes: that the biſhops ſhould be deprived of their votes and ſeats in parliament: and proteſting they would hazard their lives and fortunes in forwarding the good work. All theſe petitioners were thanked and careſſed by Pym and his aſſociates, while thoſe who addreſſed them, in favour of the church and monarchy, were diſcouraged, impriſoned, and proſecuted as delinquents. The committee for the affairs of Ireland, having demanded of the city of London one hundred thouſand pounds by way of loan, for the relief of that kingdom, the mayor and aldermen preſented a petition to the commons, declaring their incapacity to levy any ſum by way of impoſition, without the conſent of the lenders, which could not

Ruſhworth. Clarendon.

be obtained, becauſe the money formerly borrowed of them was not yet repaid, nor applied to the relief of Ireland, for which it had been demanded. They ſaid the citizens were diſcouraged by the king's refuſing to employ thirteen thouſand Scots for that ſervice; by the delay in paſſing the bill for preſſing ſoldiers; in diſarming the papiſts; in putting the kingdom in a poſture of defence; in appointing a lieutenant of the Tower, in whom the nation could confide. They complained that the king's ſhips were employed in tranſporting delinquents out of the kingdom: that many thouſands of people unknown, concealed themſelves about Covent-Garden for ſome ſiniſter purpoſe: that, by the miſunderſtanding between the king and parliament, the violation of privileges, the neglect of ſuppreſſing protections, puniſhing delinquents, and executing condemned prieſts and jeſuits; trade was decayed, money became ſcarce, and workmen deſperate: that all theſe evils aroſe from a malignant party employed in poſts of honour and confidence about his majeſty's perſon; and that they were ſupported by the intereſt of biſhops and popiſh lords, that ſat in the houſe of peers. A. C. 1642.

In a conference between the two houſes, theſe petitions were communicated to the lords by Mr. Pym, who took this occaſion to pronounce an acrimonious ſpeech, expatiating upon the groans, the agony, the terror, the perplexity of the nation, the variety of dangers to which the kingdom was expoſed, the calamities from which theſe dangers proceeded; and the multiplicity of influences that conſtituted the ſource of theſe calamities. He pretended that the kingdom was in danger from the deſigns of foreign princes, already armed to take advantage of its inteſtine diviſions; from the multitude of papiſts at home; from the inſurrection of the common people; and from the rebellion in Ireland. He imputed theſe dangers to obſtructions in the rc- Inflammatory ſpeech of Pym at a conference between the two houſes.

A. C. 1642 reformation of the church; to the power of the biſhops and the corruption of the clergy; to the interruption of commerce, which could not be charged upon the commons; and to the delay of ſuccouring the proteſtants in Ireland, in whoſe behalf they had exerted their utmoſt endeavours. He ſaid, that ſome of thoſe who were now at the head of the rebellion, had obtained paſſports from his majeſty: that the commons had been intimidated in the proſecution of delinquents; and the king's veſſels employed in conveying to another country thoſe who fled from the juſtice of parliament: that the kingdom was expoſed to invaſion and inſurrection, by the decayed condition of the fleet and fortifications, as well as by the want of a proper power to regulate the militia: that the deliberations of parliament had been interrupted by violent conſpiracies, violation of privileges, and repeated efforts to ſow the ſeeds of diviſion between the two houſes: that all theſe miſchiefs originally ſprung from the pernicious counſellors that miſled his majeſty: it was this malign influence that engendered the war with Scotland, the rebellion in Ireland, the corruption of religion, the loſs of national liberty, and the horrible attempts which had been made to deſtroy the very eſſence of parliaments. He harangued upon the innocence and virtue of the commons, which had been ſo baſely calumniated by the malignant party; and he conjured the lords to concur vigorouſly with the commons in their endeavours to ſave the nation. The ſenſible reader will perceive, that the fears of invaſion were chimerical; and that the kingdom was threatened with no danger but from that national diſtraction which they themſelves fomented. Pym was ſolemnly thanked by the ſpeaker, in the name of the commons, for his excellent ſpeech, which was ordered to be printed and publiſhed. The king finding himſelf accuſed of having

ing granted paſſports to the rebels, ſent a meſſage to the houſe, demanding reparation for ſuch malicious calumny. The houſe vindicated Pym, and named ſeveral perſons who had obtained paſſports for Ireland: the king affirmed that they had been granted while he was in Scotland, and before he knew of their order for ſhutting up the ports of the kingdom. The houſe replied by a declaration, in which they maintained the truth of Pym's aſſertion, and abſolutely refuſed to grant that ſatisfaction which the king demanded. A. C. 1642. Ruſhworth.

Charles, who had every thing to apprehend from the malevolence of ſuch a faction, ſent a meſſage to both houſes, propoſing that they ſhould ſpeedily and ſeriouſly conſider the neceſſary means for maintaining the royal authority, ſettling the king's revenues, ſecuring the privileges of parliament, the liberty and property of the ſubject, the ſafety of the proteſtant religion as profeſſed in England; and for regulating the ceremonies of divine worſhip in ſuch a manner that they ſhould not for the future give any juſt cauſe of offence. All theſe particulars being digeſted and reduced into one body, he and the parliament would be better able to judge of them. He ſaid, that, by his conceſſions, it would appear how far he had always been from forming any of thoſe deſigns which the fears and jealouſies of ſome perſons had ſuggeſted; and how ready he would be to exceed the greateſt examples of the moſt indulgent princes, in their acts of grace and favour toward their ſubjects. The commons thanked him for his goodneſs, promiſing to labour ſeriouſly in that which he had propoſed; and they told him that they had deſired the concurrence of the lords, in beſeeching his majeſty to put the militia, the Tower of London, and all the other ſtrengths of the kingdom, in the hands of thoſe who ſhould be recommended to him by the two

They preſent an addreſs to the king touching the militia.

A. C. 1642. two houſes. To this addreſs the king replied, that if Sir John Biron ſhould be found unworthy of retaining the lieutenancy of the Tower, he would deprive him of that office; otherwiſe he could not allow his ſervants to be expoſed to ſuch undeſerved affronts: that he would never confer that poſt upon any perſon whom the parliament ſhould have room to diſtruſt; but that he would reſerve to himſelf the nomination, as a jewel inſeparable from his crown, and a right with which he was inveſted by the fundamental laws of the kingdom: with reſpect to the militia, which ought to depend upon his authority alone, he thought it neceſſary that it ſhould be regulated for the ſafety of the kingdom; and, as ſoon as the two houſes ſhould have digeſted a ſcheme for that purpoſe, he would ſignify his ſentiments in ſuch a manner as ſhould be agreeable to his own honour and the ſecurity of his people. At the ſame time he exhibited an undeniable proof of his deſire to oblige them, by depriving Sir John Biron of the lieutenancy, and conferring it upon Sir John Conyers, whom the commons had recommended for that office.

They prepare an ordinance for eſtabliſhing the militia.

Nevertheleſs, the two houſes preſented an addreſs, beſeeching him to commit the Tower of London, the other ſtrong places, and the militia of the kingdom, to ſuch perſons as they ſhould propoſe: and he deſired them to make out a liſt of thoſe whom they approved as commanders of ſtrong holds and the militia, aſſuring them that he would employ ſuch as they ſhould recommend, provided he ſhould have no juſt cauſe of exception. The parliament immediately prepared an ordinance for the regulation of the militia, to which they fixed a liſt of the names they recommended for the lieutenants of the counties, and delivered them with a petition, demanding his majeſty's aſſent. Charles, finding their demands increaſed in proportion

portion to his condescension, foresaw that the contest would end in a civil war; and thought it high time to provide for his own safety and that of his family. He sent the queen to Holland, on pretence of her accompanying the princess Mary to the prince of Orange her husband; and, being destitute of money, he furnished her with some of the crown-jewels, to be sold in case of emergency. He had, by means of the earl of Newcastle, endeavoured to secure the magazine of Hull before Hotham was sent to command that place, and he now secretly tampered with Goring, governor of Portsmouth. Nor will any unprejudiced person blame him for taking these precautions against the designs of a powerful faction that seemed bent upon his ruin, by which alone the chiefs of it thought they could be secured from the vengeance of injured royalty. He saw himself fallen from the highest pinnacle of envied monarchy to a state of the most abject dependence; deprived of his prerogative, and every enjoyment for which a king could wish to inherit the throne of his ancestors; robbed of his honour and reputation, and defrauded of his people's love by the vilest arts of calumny and malice; exposed to every species of insult and mortification; bereft of his friends, deserted by his counsellors; obliged to sacrifice his best ministers to cruel, unrelenting party-rage; and to part (perhaps) for ever with those who were most dear to his affection. He saw the regal power already trampled under foot, the civil constitution altered and impaired; and the hierarchy, to which he was conscientiously attached, in the most imminent danger of being overturned by fanaticism and religious phrenzy.

A. C. 1642.

The queen retires to Holland.

When the ordinance was presented, he told them, that being upon the road to Dover with the queen and princess, he could not give an answer

The king refuses his assent to the ordinance.

to

A. C. 1642. to an affair of such importance till after his return. The two houses importuned him in another petition; and he sent his answer, importing, that he was willing to appoint commanders for the militia according to their recommendation, except in the city of London, and other corporations, which by their charters were vested with the power of commanding their own militia: but that he could not strip himself for an indefinite time of that power vested in him by the laws of God and man for the defence of his people; he desired therefore that this affair should be settled by act of parliament, for the satisfaction of all his subjects. The houses voted that this answer was not satisfactory; and drew up a third petition, which was delivered to him at Theobalds, whither he had retired. They repeated the old strain of jealousies, fears, dangers, and pernicious counsellors. They declared, that in case he should persist in his refusal, they would pass the ordinance by the authority of the two houses. They intreated him to reside in some place near London; to give order that his royal highness should fix his habitation in St. James's palace; and they begged leave to inform him, that the power of regulating the militia could not be granted to any community or corporation without the authority of the parliament. "You speak "of jealousies and fears: said the king in his an- "swer) lay your hands to your hearts, and ask "yourselves, whether I may not likewise be dis- "turbed with fears and jealousies?" He said, his answer touching the militia was so agreeable to justice and reason, that he should not alter it in any point: that he wished it might be safe and honourable for him to reside near the parliament: that he would take care of his son in such a manner, as should justify him to God as a father, and to his dominions as a king: he assured them, upon his honour,

honour, that he had no thoughts but of peace and justice to his people; and that he relied on the goodness and providence of God for his preservation. A. C. 1642.

The commons, in consequence of this answer, immediately voted it a refusal to grant the demands of the two houses touching the militia: they resolved, That the denial was suggested by the enemies of the state, and would hazard the peace and safety of the kingdom: That his majesty's removal to any remote part would endanger the kingdom and prejudice the proceedings of parliament: That an examination should be set on foot to find out and bring to condign punishment the authors of such pernicious advice: That the lords should be moved to concur with the commons in these votes, and to appoint a select committee that should join another of the commons to deliberate upon the measures to be taken in such an emergency. Then the two houses published their ordinance for establishing the militia under the command of persons nominated for that purpose in counties and corporations. On the ninth day of March, the king, being at Newmarket, was presented with a declaration from both houses, explaining the causes of their fears and suspicions, which they ascribed to a pretended plot against the religion and peace of the kingdom, formed by evil counsellors by whom his majesty had been misled. They imputed the rebellion in Ireland to the machinations of English papists countenanced by the government. They particularised all the instances of violation of privileges, which they had undergone; and among these enumerated the king's saying, he wished it might be safe and honourable for him to reside near the parliament. They besought him to remove from his presence those evil counsellors who were the authors of all the dangers and troubles to which the

It is published by the two houses, who present a declaration to the king at Newmarket.

A. C. 1642 the nation was expoſed; and to reſide with the prince in the neighbourhood of London. The king, being thus harraſſed out of all patience, told the committee, that he would take time to anſwer this ſtrange and unexpected declaration. He ſaid, God in his good time would diſcover the bottoms of all plots and treaſons, and then he ſhould ſtand right in the eyes of his people. "I ſtill confeſs my fears "(added he) and call God to witneſs, that they "are greater for the true proteſtant profeſſion, my "people, and laws, than for my own rights and ſa-"fety; though I muſt tell you I conceive that "none of theſe are free from danger. God ſo "deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and "intentions are upright for the maintenance of "the true proteſtant profeſſion, and for the obſer-"vation and preſervation of the laws of this land." Charles could not hear the declaration read without manifeſt marks of emotion. He interrupted it ſeveral times, exclaiming, "That's falſe: that's a lie." Next day, when he delivered his anſwer in writing to the committee, the earl of Pembroke aſked, Whether the militia might not be granted according to the parliament's deſire for a time? The king replied with great warmth, "No, by God, "not for an hour."

He paſſes a bill for excluding biſhops from ſeats in parliament; and another for preſſing ſoldiers.

No wonder that his patience was by this time exhauſted, after having yielded ſo much for their ſatisfaction. He had already paſſed the two bills which they had ſo eagerly proſecuted; one for excluding the biſhops from their ſeats in parliament; and the other for preſſing ſoldiers into the ſervice. He had, on that occaſion, ſent a meſſage to the two houſes, importing, That he had paſſed thoſe bills for the ſatisfaction of his people, and to ſhew his paſſionate deſiring of finding ſome means to appeaſe the troubles of the nation: That he would iſſue

iſſue a proclamation, ordering the laws againſt re- A. C. 1642.
cuſants to be vigorouſly executed: That, with the parliament's conſent, he would baniſh all Roman prieſts from the kingdom, within the term of twenty days: That he would leave to the houſes the care of reforming the government and liturgy of the church: That if the parliament ſhould think his preſence neceſſary for the reduction of the rebels in Ireland, he would chearfully venture his perſon in that ſervice: and, That as he had received a petition from the inhabitants in Suffolk, repreſenting the decay of their cloth manufactures, he earneſtly recommended the conſideration of that affair to both houſes, and would readily concur in any reſolution they ſhould take for the encouragement of commerce. The houſes thanked him for having paſſed the two bills; but took no further notice of his meſſage. Before the queen embarked for Holland they ſent a deputation to her to vindicate themſelves from a report that was circulated, implying that they intended to accuſe her of high treaſon. They intercepted and opened ſome letters from lord Digby at Middleburg in Zealand, to the queen and Sir Lewis Dives; and deſired her majeſty would not maintain any correſpondence with that nobleman, whom they reſolved to impeach as a traitor to his country.

In the midſt of the conteſt about the militia, Charles informed the parliament of his reſolution to go and put himſelf at the head of the Engliſh troops in Ireland; as a previous ſtep to which expedition he intended to raiſe a guard of two thouſand infantry and two hundred horſe in Cheſhire and the neighbouring counties; and he deſired the two houſes would ſettle a fund for their ſubſiſtence. Whether they believed the king was in earneſt, or ſought only to fix upon him the odium of a refuſal, they preſented an addreſs, ſpecifying their rea- He propoſes to venture his perſon againſt the rebels in Ireland.

A. C. 1642. sons for not complying with his demand; declaring that should he levy those troops without their consent, they would interpret his conduct into a design of inspiring the people with terror; and employ their utmost efforts in suppressing the forces that should be thus assembled. They likewise protested, that in case the king should absent himself from the realm, they would not obey the commissioners or regents whom he should appoint to rule in his absence; but that they themselves would govern the kingdom according to law, and the oath of allegiance they had taken. The king, in an answer to this address, refuted all their arguments; and they published a replication: but this affair had no other consequence; nor does it appear that the king really intended to leave England. The animosity between him and the majority in both houses had risen to such a flame, that each side thought a civil war inevitable, and endeavoured to shift the blame from itself by appeals to the public.

Arbitrary resolutions of the two houses concerning the militia.

If Charles had yielded the point of the militia for a limited time, in all probability his adversaries would have been greatly embarrassed with respect to their subsequent conduct: but they took care to inflame his resentment, by inserting harsh expressions in their addresses; and he was not yet so destitute as to be under a necessity of leaving himself entirely at the mercy of his enemies. On the fifteenth day of March he sent a message to both houses, signifying his design to go and reside for some time at York, recommended the affairs of Ireland to their serious attention: with respect to the militia he observed, that as he had been always careful of their privileges, he hoped they would not violate his rights, of which the most fundamental article imported, that his subjects should not be obliged to obey any ordinance to which he had not given his assent. Next day the commons, with the approbation

Clarendon.

tion of the upper houſe, reſolved, That they ſhould adhere to their preceding votes concerning the militia: That the king's abſence was a total hindrance to the affairs of Ireland: That when the parliament, which is the ſupreme court of the kingdom, declares what is law, no perſon ought to queſtion or contradict its orders; and that a prohibition to obey them is a great violation of privileges: That a committee of both houſes ſhould examine who was author of the laſt meſſage from his majeſty: That thoſe who adviſed the king to abſent himſelf from parliament were enemies to the peace of the kingdom, and might be juſtly ſuſpected of favouring the rebellion in Ireland. The lords voted that the ordinance for the ſecurity of the kingdom was not contrary to the oath of allegiance: That commiſſions under the great ſeal to lieutenants of counties were null and illegal: and, That every perſon exerciſing the power over the militia by virtue of theſe commiſſions, ſhould be deemed a perturbator of the public peace. The two houſes concurred in voting, That the kingdom being in manifeſt danger from foreign enemies, as well as from a popiſh malignant party at home, there was an indiſpenſible neceſſity for putting it in a poſture of defence: That the two houſes had addreſſed his majeſty, that he might ſettle the militia of the kingdom in ſuch a manner as they had judged convenient; but he had refuſed his aſſent: That, in caſe of extreme danger, and the king's refuſal, the ordinance publiſhed by the two houſes concerning the militia, was binding upon the people by the fundamental laws of the realm. That thoſe appointed lieutenants of counties by the two houſes ſhould receive their orders for the exerciſe of their employments. This was another inſtance of the moſt flagrant uſurpation in the two houſes, which, neither by law, cuſtom, nor conſtitution, had the leaſt ſhadow of right to aſſume ſuch authority, A. C. 1642.

A. C. 1642. rity, or even to arrogate the name of parliament, without the concurrence of the king, who conſtitutes the head of that body. Nothing could at any time excuſe ſuch acts of power in the two houſes, except the moſt imminent danger impending over the commonwealth; and here was no danger but of their own creating.

Further conteſt upon this ſubject.

Some time after theſe reſolutions, they received the king's declaration, in anſwer to that which had been preſented to him at Newmarket. Before this was delivered to the houſes, they had finiſhed an addreſs, by way of reply to the anſwer which he had returned to the committee at Newmarket; and he wrote another reply to their laſt remonſtrance. Their addreſſes were filled with the moſt invidious inſinuations againſt the miſconduct of the miniſtry in the former part of the king's reign; with a rancorous recapitulation of every particular which could be conſtrued into a breach of privilege; the hackneyed repetition of fears and jealouſies, popiſh plots and invaſions, and the moſt obſtinate perſeverance in demanding the king's aſſent to every propoſition they could make againſt his perſon and government. A ſpirit of candour, ſincerity, injured innocence, and good ſenſe, breathes through all the king's anſwers. He frankly acknowledged the errors of his former conduct; reminded them of the attonement he made by his ſubſequent conceſſions; refuted the cruel calumnies which had been forged to his prejudice; explained his motives for refuſing to comply with their demand; and expreſſed the moſt earneſt deſire of promoting the happineſs of his people. "If you "think (ſaid he, in his laſt anſwer) you have a "right to demand what you pleaſe, and in what-"ever ſtile you judge proper; and, if we cannot "refuſe it, nor give the reaſons of our refuſal, "without being accuſed of having violated your "privileges, or of having been adviſed by the ene-

"mies

"mies of the kingdom, and fautors of the rebellion A. C. 1642.
"in Ireland, as we are in the votes upon our mes-
"ſage, dated at Huntingdon; you will reduce our
"rights to a very ſmall compaſs. In plain Eng-
"liſh, this is taking from us the liberty of ſpeech;
"a deprivation which would be unjuſt, even if we
"were a ſubject: but, being your king, we leave
"it to others to find a ſuitable name for ſuch con-
"duct." The two houſes, with a view to make a Ruſhworth.
merit of their condeſcenſion, paſſed a bill for eſta-
bliſhing the militia, as the king had recommended
that method to parliament; but when it was pre-
ſented to his majeſty, he refuſed his aſſent, becauſe
he himſelf was excluded from all ſhare in the regu-
lation. He ſignified his reaſons for with-holding his
aſſent. They replied, in a declaration, and he an-
ſwered their reply. They then ordered their ordi-
nance to be put in execution: the king publiſhed
a proclamation, forbidding all perſons to execute
their ordinance, on pain of being declared pertur-
bators of the public peace: and, on the other
hand, the parliament iſſued a freſh declaration, pro-
hibiting all the ſubjects from yielding obedience to
the king's proclamation, as being contrary to the
laws of the realm.

When the king retired to the North, the two houſes ſuſpected that he had formed a deſign for making himſelf maſter of Hull; and therefore they petitioned that he would order the magazine to be tranſported from that place to the Tower of London. He gave them to underſtand, that he could not conſent to their requeſt, until he ſhould know for what purpoſe it was intended; and that, ſhould they attempt to tranſport his magazine without his order, he ſhould look upon ſuch an attempt as an expreſs violation of his rights. Notwithſtanding this declaration, and a petition preſented to the king by the gentlemen of Yorkſhire, deſiring that the

A. C. 1642. magazine might not be removed, the parliament caused the greater part of it to be deposited in the Tower. Charles certainly intended to take possession of Hull, and secure the arms he had purchased with his own money. Such steps were, at this juncture, not only excusable, but even necessary for his own preservation. On the twenty-third day of April, he presented himself before the gates of Hull, with a retinue of three hundred horse, and demanded entrance, which was refused by Sir John Hotham the governor, who appeared upon the rampart, and told him that he could not receive his majesty, and such a numerous train, without betraying the trust reposed in him by the parliament; but that he might enter with twelve attendants. The king consented to exclude all his retinue, except thirty followers: but Hotham refusing to open the gates on these terms, the king ordered two heralds to proclaim him a traitor, and retired to Beverley, where he passed the night. Next day Hotham was again summoned to open the gates, with promise of pardon for his former disobedience; but he remained inflexible, and Charles returned to York, extremely chagrined at his disappointment. He demanded reparation of the parliament for the insult he had sustained. He quoted laws to prove it was the king's office to defend the realm, and take charge of garrisons and magazines; and he claimed that of Hull in particular, as having been purchased at his own private expence. The parliament maintained that Hotham had done his duty, pretending that the laws had committed the strengths and magazines of the kingdom to the sovereign, as a deposit to be employed for the preservation, not the ruin of the people. This contest produced a number of messages, declarations, answers, and replies; and, in the mean time, the king's friends endeavoured to obtain possession of Hull, by maintaining a correspondence

The king is refused entrance into Hull, by Sir John Hotham.

pondence with an officer of the garriſon, who diſcovered the deſign to the governor, and he ſent intelligence of this affair to the two houſes. The attempt had been made by means of a gentleman named Beckwyth, who, on the miſcarriage of his ſcheme, retired to York; and thither the houſes diſpatched a meſſenger to take him into cuſtody, but the king would not allow him to execute the order. A.C. 1642.

Charles, now laying aſide all hope of accommodation, began to prepare for war in earneſt. He had already gained over Goring, governor of Portſmouth; and the queen was employed in Holland in purchaſing artillery, arms, and ammunition. The earl of Northumberland, lord high-admiral, being old and infirm, the king conferred the command of the fleet upon Sir John Pennington, who was devoted to his intereſt: but the houſes remonſtrated againſt his choice; and, in a paper tranſmitted to the lord-keeper Littleton, who had by this time repaired to the king at York, inſiſted upon his majeſty's appointing the earl of Warwick commander of the navy. Charles, incenſed at this demand, as well as at the diſreſpectful manner in which it was communicated, refuſed to comply with their deſire: nevertheleſs, Warwick found means to uſurp the command, by the intrigues of the parliament, and the influence of Northumberland, who favoured his intereſt. The two houſes began to put in execution their ordinance touching the militia, and the trained-bands of London were muſtered in their preſence. They ſent deputies to York, on pretence of delivering a meſſage to the king, concerning Hull and the militia; and when he would have diſmiſſed them with an anſwer, they told him they had orders to remain at York, where they acted as ſpies upon his conduct. In order to diſcredit the proceedings of his adverſaries, he ſent private directions to all his friends in both houſes, to abſent themſelves

Both ſides prepare for war.

Clarendon. Ruſhworth

A. C. 1642 from the parliament, and attend his perſon; and this command a conſiderable number obeyed the more willingly, as their lives were in continual danger from the inſolence of the populace, and the violence of thoſe members by whom the multitude was actuated.

The king raiſes a troop of horſe-guards for the defence of his perſon.

The king having aſſembled the freeholders of Yorkſhire, proteſted, in a public ſpeech, that he had retired to the North with a view to preſerve the peace of that part of his dominions, and not to make it the ſeat of war; a deſign of which he had been falſely accuſed. He ſaid the two houſes had ſent their deputies to brave him, even as far as York: that as they had deprived him of his magazine at Hull, begun to execute their ordinance concerning the militia, and approved the treaſon of Sir John Hotham, he could no longer doubt that his perſon was in the moſt imminent danger. He therefore reſolved to appoint a guard, and demanded their approbation and aſſiſtance. Though the gentlemen of that country were generally well affected to his majeſty, they were mingled with a good number of malcontents; and theſe being practiſed upon by the committee of the two houſes, preſented petitions, diſapproving of the king's propoſal; which, however, was reliſhed by the majority. A troop of horſe-guards was immediately formed of thoſe gentlemen, who voluntarily inliſted themſelves for that ſervice, under the command of the prince of Wales; and one regiment of trained bands was ordered to duty without intermiſſion.

Deſcription of the oppoſite parties.

The nation was now divided between the king and the two houſes. The greater part of the old nobility and ancient families in the kingdom, who valued themſelves upon the loyalty and virtue of their anceſtors, adhered to the cauſe of their ſovereign, which was alſo ſuſtained by all thoſe who wiſhed well to the ancient conſtitution and the hierarchy.

rarchy. All in general whom nature had endowed with generosity and benevolence of disposition, whose manners were polished by social and elegant intercourse, and whose minds were enlarged by a liberal education, glowed with ardour in the cause of injured royalty, upon which nothing reflected more lustre than the approbation and attachment of the learned, loyal, and venerable university of Oxford*. The opposite faction was composed of those whom the court had personally disobliged; of such as wanted to fish in troubled waters; of republicans and protestant dissenters; comprehending a great number of corporations, manufacturers, and the lower class of people, inflamed with the spirit of fanaticism. The traders were generally averse to the king, partly from the discouragements to which commerce had been subjected during this reign; partly from a spirit of independence become licentious and insolent; partly from hatred and emulation of the antient families which adhered to the interest of their sovereign: but the greatest advantage the two houses enjoyed over the monarch was the countenance and support of the city of London, the great reservoir of the national wealth and credit. A. C. 1642.

The king issued a proclamation for transferring the courts of justice to York; but the houses at

* The king was attended at York by lord Littleton, keeper of the seals; the marquis of Hertford, governor to the prince of Wales; lord Falkland, secretary of state; the duke of Richmond, the earls of Southampton, Devonshire, Clare, Monmouth, Carnarvon, Cumberland, Salisbury, Cambridge, Westmoreland, Rivers, Newport, Lindsey, Bath, Dorset, Northampton, Bristol, Berkshire, Dover, lords Newark, Rich, Coventry, Capel, Gray of Ruthven, Pawlet, Saville, Dunsmore, Mowbray, and Martravers; Howard of Charleton, Lovelace, Mohun, Seymour. Sir P. Wych, comptroller, Secretary Nicholas, Sir J. Colepeper, chancellor of the exchequer, lord chief justice Banks. Many other noblemen were employed in the king's behalf in different parts of the kingdom; and among the members of the lower house who retired to York, was Mr. Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon.

West-

A. C. 1642 Westminster prevented the execution of this order.

New contest between the king and the two houses. He likewise commanded major-general Skippon to attend his person; but he received a contrary order from the parliament, which he chose to obey. On the nineteenth of May, the two houses published a remonstrance or declaration, as a reply to the answers which the king had made to some former addresses; and he refuted them by another declaration. They recapitulated as usual all the errors of his conduct: they arrogated to themselves the power of a parliament, as if a parliament could exist without the concurrence of the sovereign; they magnified their own measures for the preservation of Ireland; they expatiated upon the imminent danger to which the nation was exposed; and they ascribed all those dangers to the malignant party by which the king was misled. Charles, on the other hand, vindicated himself from their aspersions; detected the absurdity and presumption of their assuming the appellation of a parliament; recriminated upon their conduct, their insolent expressions, their acts of arbitrary power, and their supporting individuals who had been guilty of high treason. He demonstrated the fallacy of their imputing to him the delay in sending succours to Ireland; and the falsity of those dangers, plots, and conspiracies, which they themselves had feigned, for the purposes of blackening the character of their sovereign, and keeping up the ferment of the nation. Charles never shone so much as in his adversity, which called forth the exertion of those faculties which are not so much employed in the ordinary occurrences of life. He stood collected within himself with admirable fortitude, depended upon his own lights, disclosed a surprising extent of understanding, and reasoned with great strength of argument and precision. His messages, answers, and declarations, are close, clear, and nervous; though

though the most masterly of those performances were penned by the lord Falkland, a nobleman equally remarkable for the elegance of his mind, and the moderation of his temper. A. C. 1642.

On the twentieth day of May, the commons passed several votes, importing, That the king had formed a design to make war upon the parliament: That such a design was contrary to his coronation-oath, and tended to the dissolution of government: and, that all assisting him in this war should be reputed and punished as traitors. Then they sent a petition to the king, desiring he would dismiss the troops he had levied; otherwise they should be obliged to secure the peace of the kingdom by more effectual meaus. In his answer he reproached them with having appointed a guard to themselves; and with having commanded the sheriffs of counties to oppose all such persons as should assemble by order of his majesty. On the second day of June, they presented him with nineteen propositions for re-establishing a good understanding between the king and parliament; with which, if he had complied, he must have shamefully given up, to an inveterate faction, the whole regal power, prerogative, and dignity: he must have contributed to the total overthrow of the constitution in church and state, betrayed the interest of his successors, reduced himself to the most disgraceful dependence upon his personal enemies, and rendered his name a reproach among the princes of the earth. To these propositals he wrote such an answer as must have satisfied every person whose judgment was not biassed by rancour and prepossession; but he had to do with a set of men who had planned a total revolution of government, and who had proceeded too far in this design to recede with safety. For this reason, all their votes, resolutions, remonstrances, and declarations, were evidently calculated to irritate and The houses present the king with nineteen propositions.

A. C. 1642. alarm the minds of the people, inflame animosities, and widen the breach between the sovereign and the two houses of parliament; whereas Charles, from the beginning of this parliament, bent his whole endeavours towards the re-establishment of a good understanding between him and them, by repeated concessions, redressing grievances, and parting with the most undoubted prerogatives of his crown. This was was the great aim of his whole conduct, except when he was provoked by insults, or seduced by rash counsel into some indiscretions, from which the most upright and cautious minds are not wholly exempt.

The two houses having received intelligence that the queen had sold or impawned some of the crown-jewels at Amsterdam, published an order, declaring all those concerned in selling or pawning those jewels, or in raising money for the king, enemies of the state. The commons likewise ordered the sheriffs of counties to summon the members who had withdrawn themselves from parliament, to resume their seats before the sixteenth day of June, on pain of a certain fine, and such other punishment as the house should think proper to inflict. At the same time the upper house ordered nine of their members, who had retired to York, to appear at their bar on the eighth day of June, as delinquents. As they excused themselves by letters from obeying this order, the commons presented an impeachment against them: the lords published a sentence, excluding them from sitting in their house during the continuance of this parliament, and condemning them to imprisonment in the Tower, for such a period of time as the house should think proper to prescribe. On the tenth day of June, the two houses having received intimation that the king had granted commissions to levy troops, published proposals for borrowing either money or plate for the

Rushworth.

They impeach the absent lords.

the defence of the kingdom. Charles, informed of this measure, wrote a letter to the mayor of London, forbidding the citizens to lend money to the two houses. They forthwith issued a declaration, representing the absolute necessity of putting themselves in a posture of defence against the violent designs of the king: and he published a long answer, reproaching them with their outrageous proceedings, contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm: at length, by a printed order, they prohibited all persons from publishing any declaration of the king, or other writing, contrary to the ordinances of parliament. The king, supposing that the captains of his navy were generally well affected to his person, deprived the earl of Northumberland of the post of high-admirrl; ordered the earl of Warwick to resign his command, which was given to Sir John Pennington; and wrote to every individual captain, commanding him to weigh anchor from the Downs, and sail directly to Burlington bay. The captains were very well disposed towards his majesty; but the scheme was executed in such a dilatory and indiscreet manner, that Warwick found an opportunity to tamper with the individuals and confirm them in their attachment to his command, which was renounced by two only; and these being arrested, were sent prisoners to London. A. C. 1642. The navy revolts from the king.

Mean while, the earl of Newcastle took possession of Newcastle upon Tyne, and Tinmouth, for the service of his majesty, who had by this time received a small supply of arms and ammunition from Holland, by means of the queen, and his son-in-law the prince of Orange. He appointed the earl of Hertford his lieutenant-general in the western counties: the earl of Lindsey was vested with the command of the army under the command of the king himself: Sir Jacob Ashley was constituted

A. C. 1642. general of the infantry; and the command of the cavalry was reserved for the king's nephew prince Rupert, brother to the elector Palatine. The lord Digby, in his passage from Holland, had been taken prisoner in disguise, and conveyed to Hull, where finding it impossible to remain long concealed from the knowledge of many persons well acquainted with his features, he discovered himself to Hotham, in confidence of his honour and generosity. The governor dismissed him with the warmest professions of duty and attachment to the king; and assured him, that if his majesty would appear before the place with the least shew of an army or artillery, he would capitulate immediately after the first discharge. Charles, influenced by this promise, assembled a number of militia, with about seven hundred horse, and formed the blockade of Hull, after having published a proclamation, specifying his reasons for undertaking the siege; and summoned the town to surrender. But by this time Hotham was so narrowly watched by his own son, and the other officers of the garrison, who were devoted to the two houses, that he excused himself from the performance of his promise; and the king, being destitute of means to carry on the siege in form, was obliged to desist from the enterprize. In the mean time he had received an address from the two houses, beseeching him to discontinue his warlike preparations, remove his forces from Hull, disband his troops, and withdraw his garrisons from Newcastle, Tinmouth, and other places in the county of Lincoln; on which conditions they promosed to lay aside the preparations they had begun to make in their own defence. Their terms the king rejected, and in his turn presented them with propofals, to which they made no satisfactory answer. About the beginning of August, Goring governor of Portsmouth declared for the king, and

His attempt upon Hull.

Clarendon.

was

was immediately blocked up by sea and land; the earl of Warwick commanding the fleet, and the militia of the adjacent parts being assembled by a committee of the two houses, appointed for that service. The governor having neglected to furnish the place with salt and corn was in a few days obliged to capitulate, and retired to Holland. During this short blockade, the king published a declaration, recapitulating all the causes of his complaint against the two houses; declaring them guilty of high-treason, and forbidding his subjects to obey their orders. A. C. 1642.

At the same time he issued a proclamation, commanding all persons who were able to bear arms, to repair, on the twenty-fifth of August, to Nottingham, where he intended to set up the royal standard, in conformity with the antient practice of the English kings, when, upon extraordinary occasion, they needed the assistance of their people. Mean while, he detached the earl of Hertford, and some other noblemen, to manage his interest in the western counties. He himself repaired to Lincoln, where he borrowed the arms of the trained-bands for the use of his new-levied troops; and from thence he marched to Nottingham, where he reviewed his cavalry, to the number of seven hundred horsemen, well mounted and accoutred. Hearing that the earl of Essex was on his march with two regiments of infantry, to take possession of Coventry, he advanced to that city with his horse, in order to anticipate the enemy; but he was refused admittance by the mayor, and returned to Nottingham very much chagrined, leaving the command of his cavalry to Wilmot the commissary-general, who next day retreated shamefully, before twelve hundred men of the enemy's infantry, escorted by one troop of horse. The king's proclamation had produced so little effect, that when the royal standard

He sets up his standard at Nottingham.

A. C. 1642. dard was set up at Nottingham, not a soul appeared but a few trained bands assembled for that purpose. Every countenance was overspread with melancholy and dejection; and the standard being blown down by a storm, this accident was interpreted into an unlucky omen. Indeed nothing could be more melancholy than the prospect of this unhappy monarch, destitute of troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, except a very inconsiderable supply, altogether inadequate to his necessities, surrounded by timorous friends, distracted by jarring councils, wanting even the necessaries of life, and threatened by a powerful faction, which had not only despoiled him of his revenue and authority, but also interested the majority and richer part of the nation in its rebellious designs: nay, he was exposed to the most immediate hazard from a body of his adversaries, consisting of five thousand foot soldiers, and fifteen hundred cavalry, who had by this time taken possession of Coventry.

Clarendon.

Messages between the king and the two houses.

In this emergency, the king, by the advice of his council, sent the earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir John Colepeper, and Sir William Udall, with a message to the two houses, proposing a treaty for an accommodation, declaring his firm resolution to maintain the true religion, and the privileges of his people; protesting that he earnestly desired peace; and that should his proposal be rejected, God would not impute to him the blood that might be shed in the course of their dispute. The deputies were treated with great insolence and contempt by both houses; and their answer imported, that without derogating from the privileges of parliament, they could not treat with the king, until he should have revoked those proclamations by which they were declared guilty of high treason. In a subsequent message, he promised to revoke those proclamations, and take down his standard, as soon as they should fix a day

for

for recalling their declarations, by which all his friends and adherents were treated as traitors to their country. They insisted on their former answer, assuring him, that if he would return to his parliament, after the revocation which they had proposed, he should receive sensible marks of their fidelity and obedience; but that the parliament, as representative of the kingdom, would never suffer itself to be put in competition with his majesty's pernicious counsellors. Then they published a declaration, protesting that they would never lay down their arms, until the king should have abandoned the delinquents to the justice of parliament. Charles sent a third message, in which he said the public should judge whether he or they had manifested the warmer solicitude for peace; that should they in the sequel desire to treat, he would always remember, that the blood to be shed was that of his subjects; and that he would return to his parliament as soon as the causes of his absence should cease. To this they returned a very acrimonious answer, charging his soldiers with having committed the most violent outrages, and himself with having not only caressed the agents of the Irish rebels, but also with having seized the ammunition, cloathing, and horses, provided for the reduction of those rebels, in order to be employed against his own parliament. Charles, in a subsequent declaration, absolutely denied the truth of those imputations; observing, by way of recrimination, that the two houses had made no scruple of using against their sovereign one hundred thousand pounds, raised for the relief of Ireland; that though the house of commons was composed of above five hundred members, two hundred had been obliged to relinquish their seats, by the violence and threats of the majority; and that, of one hundred peers, not above sixteen continued to sit in the upper house of parliament. A. C. 1642.

A. C. 1642. During this conteſt, the earl of Eſſex aſſembled at Northampton an army of ſixteen thouſand men, well armed, with an excellent train of artillery. The king, diffident of his ſafety at Nottingham, began his march towards Wales, with a ſmall number of troops, ill provided, in hope of ſecuring Cheſter and Shrewſbury. At Wellington, in the neighbourhood of Derby, he harrangued his little army, proteſting, in the preſence of Almighty God, that he would maintain the true proteſtant religion, as eſtabliſhed in the church of England; that he would defend the rights and privileges of his ſubjects; and particularly obſerve thoſe laws to which he had given his aſſent in the preſent parliament. He found himſelf obliged to uſe ſome horſes deſigned for the ſervice of Ireland, and to borrow arms from the militia of the places through which he paſſed. The inhabitants of Shrewſbury received him with the warmeſt demonſtrations of joy and affection. There he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters; and the number of his troops increaſed ſo conſiderably, that in a few days he found himſelf at the head of ten thouſand infantry, and four thouſand horſe. He was ſupplied with money by ſome friends in London; the loyal univerſity of Oxford dedicated the plate of all their colleges to his ſervice; and their example was followed by the univerſity of Cambridge. Sir John Byron had been ſent to Oxford for this ſupply, with a ſmall detachment of cavalry; and prince Rupert, who had aſſumed the command of the horſe, was detached with another body to Worceſter, in order to meet and ſecure Byron in his return. Mean while, the earl of Eſſex reſolving to fix his head-quarters in this city, ordered Nathaniel Fiennes to advance, and take poſſeſſion of the place; but this officer finding Byron had entered it with his convoy, retired with precipitation. Immediately after his departure, prince Rupert arrived with his brother

brother Maurice, and had scarce alighted, when he perceived five hundred horse of Essex's army, commanded by colonel Sandys, advancing through a defile just at hand. He and his company immediately mounted; and with admirable courage and presence of mind, attacked the enemy as they came out of the lane: they were totally routed, after having left their commander and about thirty men killed on the spot; and several officers were taken. The success of this first skirmish wonderfully inspirited the royalists, and impressed the enemy with a terror of prince Rupert, who had given such an early proof of extraordinary conduct and bravery. He forthwith conducted his convoy to Shrewsbury, where the plate was coined for the king's use; and next day the earl of Essex took possession of Worcester, where he resided for some time, during which he secured the cities of Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol. A. C. 1642. Rushworth. Clarendon.

The king had no sooner assembled an army, with which he thought he could act upon the offensive, than he began his march from Shrewsbury towards London; and in two days after his departure, the earl of Essex put himself in motion to attend his rear. On the twenty second day of October, the armies were within six miles of each other. The king having received intelligence that Essex had advanced to Keinton, a village on the borders of Warwickshire, drew up his army on Edge-hill, about two miles from the enemy; and on Sunday the twenty-third day of the month, gave them battle. The army of Essex was superior in number to the royalists, who did not exceed ten thousand horse and foot. He posted Ramsey, a Scottish officer, at the head of a thousand horse, on the left wing. He himself commanded the line of infantry, with about two regiments of cavalry, extending from Keinton towards Edge-hill; and Sir William Balfour, acting Battle of Edge-hill.

A. C. 1642. under the earl of Bedford, was intrusted with a strong body of horse as a reserve. The king's right wing of horse was commanded by prince Rupert, the left by commissary Wilmot, and Sir Arthur Ashton. The earl of Lindsey, though general, fought on foot at the head of his own regiment; Sir Edmund Verney, knight-martial, carried the king's standard; and Sir John Byron formed the reserve with his own regiment only. About three o'clock, in the afternoon, prince Rupert advancing to charge the left wing of the enemy, Sir Faithful Fortescue, with his whole troop, deserted from Ramsey, and joined the prince, who charged their adversaries with such fury, that they were immediately routed, and pursued for two miles. Wilmot and Sir Arthur Ashton, met with the same success against the right wing of Essex; and the reserve under Byron joined in the pursuit, leaving the infantry on both sides to dispute the fortune of the day. During this contest, Sir William Balfour advancing with his reserve, fell upon the flank of the royalists, and did great execution. The earl of Lindsey was mortally wounded, and his son the lord Willoughby taken prisoner, while he endeavoured to rescue his father; Sir Edmund Verney being slain, the standard fell into the hands of the enemy, but was recovered by the valour of captain John Smith. The king's whole infantry was thrown into confusion, and himself with his two sons in great danger of being taken. When prince Rupert and Wilmot returned from the pursuit, their troops were so fatigued and scattered, that they could not be brought into order so as to renew the charge; and night approaching, left the fate of the day undecided. Each side kept its ground, and next morning both armies fronted one another. About five thousand combatants lay dead on the field of battle, the greater number of these having been killed by the king's

*BERTIE* Earl of *LINDSEY.*

king's cavalry. Beſides the earl of Lindſey, and Sir Edmund Verney, the king loſt the lord Aubigney, brother to the duke of Richmond and Lenox. Among thoſe who fell on the other ſide, were the lord St. John of Bletſo, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Bolingbroke, and Charles Eſſex, an officer of reputation. Lord Willoughby, Sir Thomas Lunsford, Sir Edward Stradling, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in the king's army, were taken. His ſoldiers ſuffered greatly from the cold, which was very ſevere in the night; and indeed, both ſides ſeemed to think themſelves vanquiſhed. Eſſex retired to Warwick-caſtle; and the king, having appointed Ruthven general of his army, in the room of the earl of Lindſey, marched to Banbury, and ſummoned the caſtle to ſurrender. Though the garriſon conſiſted of eight hundred infantry, and a troop of horſe, they immediately capitulated; and one half of the ſoldiers inliſted in the king's army. Here he left a garriſon, under the command of the earl of Northampton, and next day entered Oxford, where he was received with joy and acclamation. A. C. 1642.

The two houſes, though they arrogated to themſelves the victory, were nevertheleſs overwhelmed with conſternation, when they learned the particulars of the battle; while the king's friends at London ſeized this opportunity of exaggerating the exploits of the royaliſts, and expatiating upon the neceſſity of a peace. On the day that preceded the battle, the two houſes had publiſhed a declaration, taxing the king with having given commiſſions to papiſts; with having ſent perſons to levy troops at Hamburgh, and in Denmark; encouraged Iriſh rebels; and entertained ſeveral perſons declared guilty of high treaſon, namely, lord Digby, Oneal, Williams, Pollard, and Aſhburnham. They likewiſe affirmed, that the jeſuits had collected money for his uſe in foreign countries; and for theſe rea-

A. C. 1642. fons, they resolved to engage in a solemn covenant, hoping they should be joined by the Scots, according to the treaty of peace subsisting between the two kingdoms. Charles published two answers, in which he positively denied the truth of their imputations; and affirmed there was a great number of papists in their army. In their reply to this answer, they insisted upon his having granted commissions to catholics, whom they named: at the same time, they published a petition, presented to the king by the catholics of Lancashire, begging permission to provide themselves with arms for his service; and his majesty's answer, in which he complied with their request. At such a juncture, when the constitution was unhinged, and the legislature divided within itself; when the king was stripped of his prerogative, and a powerful faction had actually taken arms against his person, it was natural, it was just in him, to embrace the offers of his subjects, for his own preservation; and it was prudent to wave distinctions, which he could not maintain with any regard to his personal safety. As he claimed the victory at Edge-hill, he, in order to fortify his pretensions, and intimidate his adversaries, sent an offer of pardon to the city of London, and several other towns which had declared for the two houses. His secret friends took all occasions to magnify the advantage, and inspire the people with an aversion to the war.

Vigour and resolution of the two houses.

On the other hand, the parliament resolved to demand peace, to exert their utmost endeavours for putting themselves in a condition to maintain the war, and to desire the assistance of the Scots, in case it should be found necessary.

The army of Essex was immediately recruited by a great number of apprentices, who enlisted in consequence of an ordinance, importing that all the time of their service in the field should be reckoned as part of their apprenticeship; and they sent a declaration

claration to Scotland, desiring their brethren of that kingdom to prepare forces to cover their frontiers from the attempts of the popish army, which the earl of Newcastle had raised in the north of England. The king, by the advice of his friends in London, resolved to approach that city, before the agitation produced by the battle should subside, hoping that some commotion would be raised in his favour. With this view he advanced to Reading, which was abandoned with precipitation by Harry Martin, who commanded the garrison composed of the parliament's troops. This motion alarmed the two houses to such a degree, that they dispatched a messenger to the king, to desire he would grant a safe-conduct for a committee of lords and commons, to attend him with an humble petition. He complied with their request, excepting against Sir John Evelyn, who had been proclaimed a traitor. The houses would not admit of this exception, especially as they received an information that the earl of Essex was on his march to London; but, the king proceeding as far as Colebrook, their appetite for peace recurred. The apprehension of the people grew clamorous and importunate; and the earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with three members of the lower house, waited upon his majesty with a petition, that he would choose his residence at some place in the neighbourhood of London, where he might coveniently treat with a committee of parliament, about preventing further bloodshed, and re-establishing the peace of the nation. A. C. 1642. They send deputies to the king at Colebrook.

The deputies received a very favourable answer from the king, who pitched upon the castle of Windsor, which was in their possession; and they returned with a seemingly sincere desire of peace, to make their report to their constituents, when this fair prospect of an accommodation was ruined by the impetuosity of prince Rupert. He was a youth

A. C. 1642. of a very obſtinate temper, and ungracious addreſs.

Ruſhworth. Far from craving the advice of more experienced officers, he had paid no deference to the king's orders, ſince he firſt engaged in the ſervice; and acted entirely from the ſuggeſtions of his own headſtrong ambition. He now advanced with all the cavalry as far as Hounſlow, and underſtanding that Eſſex had taken poſſeſſion of Kingſton, Acton, and Brentford, ſo that he was in danger of being intercepted, he ſent a meſſenger to the king, deſiring he might be ſuſtained by the reſt of the army.

He ſurpriſes Brentford. The infantry immediately began their march, and the avenues of Brentford being barricaded by the

Clarendon. enemy, the place was taken by aſſault, after a warm action, in which the king's troops took above five hundred priſoners, eleven pair of colours, fifteen pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition. The houſes loudly exclaimed againſt this attack, as a proof of the king's inſincerity and perfidious dealing, though they had no reaſon to complain, as they had not demanded a ceſſation; and their general had taken poſſeſſion of Kingſton and Acton, after their committee had waited upon his majeſty. Nevertheleſs, he ſent a meſſage to the parliament, importing, that what he had done was in conſequence of the motions of Eſſex; that he was ſtill cordially diſpoſed to peace, and would expect their deputies at Brentford. His meſſenger was maltreated and impriſoned; the two houſes affirmed, that the king's deſign was to ſurpriſe and plunder the city of London; and they ordered the mayor to ſend the trained-bands to reinforce the earl of Eſſex. By this conjunction he was rendered much ſtronger than Charles. Both armies faced one another a whole day, on the heath, near Brentford; and, in the evening, the king wheeled off to Kingſton, which the enemy had quitted. He lay at Hampton-Court, from whence he retired to

Oat-

*ROBERT DEVEREUX* Earl of *ESSEX.*

Oat-lands, where firſt hearing how his character was aſperſed, touching the attack at Brentford, he, in a meſſage to the houſes, repeated his reaſons for the ſtep he had taken, complained of thoſe falſe imputations, and told them he would move to a greater diſtance from London, that they might prepare their propoſals, without any apprehenſion; or, that if they were averſe to a treaty, he was content to put an end to the miſeries of his people by one deciſive battle. Mean while, he directed his forces to retire to Reading, and diſmiſſed the priſoners he had taken, after they had promiſed upon oath that they would never bear arms againſt their ſovereign. A. C. 1642.

The parliament having received offers of men and money from the citizens of London, influenced by Pennington the mayor, paſſed an ordinance, that all ſuch as ſhould furniſh men, money, horſes, or arms for the ſervice, ſhould be repayed with intereſt; and for ſuch payment, they engaged the public faith of the kingdom. They reinforced the army, careſſed the earl of Eſſex, and conſtituted him ſole general. Then they petitioned the king to return to his parliament, with his royal, not his martial attendance. To this addreſs he returned a ſuitable reply, ſtill expreſſing his deſire to treat of an accommodation. They declared he had no mind to peace; and ordered their general to march with his army to Windſor, after their chaplains Downing and Marſhal had abſolved the ſoldiers of the oath they had taken at Brentford, to abſtain from carrying arms againſt the king. All hope of peace being now vaniſhed, Charles left a ſtrong garriſon in Reading, under the command of Sir Arthur Aſhton, while he himſelf marched with the reſt of his army to Oxford. Wallingford in the neighbourhood of that city, the Brill on the edge of Buckinghamſhire, and Banbury were ſecured with gar- He retreats to Oxford.

A. C. 1642. garrisons; and the head quarters for the horse were established at Abingdon: so that he commanded Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and influenced the counties of Buckingham and Northampton. Marlborough in Wiltshire being held for the parliament by Ramsey, a Scottish officer in their service, the king sent thither Wilmot, now appointed lieutenant-general of the horse, with a strong detachment, which entered the town by assault. They took the governor, officers, and a thousand prisoners, and returned safe to Oxford with four pieces of cannon, and great store of arms and ammunition: but this advantage was in some measure balanced by the misfortune that befel the lord Grandison, who, with three or four regiments of horse and dragoons, was taken by the enemy at Winchester; from whence, however, he made his escape to Oxford.

He refutes the declaration of the two houses.

The king's next step was to refute the declaration which the two houses had sent into Scotland. Commissioners from that kingdom actually resided in London; and, before the armies took the field, had exhorted the parliament to a reconciliation with his majesty. He now sent a message to the privy council of Scotland, complaining of the calumnies which had been circulated by the two houses and their emissaries, to the prejudice of his character; recapitulating the injuries he had suffered, and exhorting his subjects of Scotland to persevere in their duty and allegiance. As the king's revenues were intercepted, he was enabled by the loyalty and generosity of Oxford, the affection of his adherents, and particularly by sums drawn from his friends in London, to defray the necessary expence of his army and household, and even to make preparations for the ensuing campaign. When, according to custom, he appointed sheriffs in all the counties, the commons ordered that every person so nominated, should be prosecuted as a delinquent.

quent. Hearing that the king had ordered ſome of the priſoners taken at Edge-hill to be indicted for high-treaſon, they declared all ſuch indictments illegal; inhibited the judges to proceed; and declared, that if any of their ſoldiers ſhould be executed, they would make retaliation upon thoſe they had taken priſoners. The king publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all men to pay or receive the duty of tonnnage and poundage; and the houſes declared that no perſon ſhould be moleſted on that account. They maintained agents in Holland, Bruſſels, and France. The prince of Orange had heartily engaged in the cauſe of his father-in-law; but the ſtates-general were united with the parliament by a conformity of civil and religious principles. They prevailed upon Franciſco de Melos, governor of Flanders, to diſcountenance the king's friends in that country. The king of Spain had been incenſed againſt Charles for having concluded a league of amity with the crown of Portugal. He had encouraged and aſſiſted the rebels in Ireland, and now his ambaſſador at London carried on an intimate correſpondence with the two houſes. Richelieu, the French miniſter, had been concerned in exciting the firſt commotions in Scotland. La Ferté, the envoy from that crown, acted as a ſpy for the parliament; and the huguenots were attached to it by the ties of religion. A. C. 1642.

In order to raiſe money for their occaſions, the two houſes ordered that committees ſhould be named for borrowing money and plate to ſupply the wants of the army; and that they ſhould take into cuſtody all proviſions of money, plate, and horſes, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. They ordained, that Iſaac Pennington, mayor of London, and a certain number of aldermen and citizens, ſhould be inveſted with authority to impower ſix perſons of every ward in London to aſſeſs all

Their arbitrary methods of raiſing ſupplies.

A. C. 1642 all persons who refused to contribute in sums not exceeding the twentieth part of their substance; to distrain goods for this purpose, to receive rents, to compound debts, end even to imprison whole families. The king published a declaration, explaining the pernicious consequences of such an arbitrary tyrannical imposition, which destroyed the most essential privileges of the people: he required that his loving subjects would not submit to such an extravagant ordinance, or give any assistance to the army of the rebels, on pain of incurring severe punishment and perpetual infamy. A great number of citizens, well affected to his majesty, prepared a petition to the parliament, recommending a treaty for peace; but the two houses refused to receive it, on pretence that it had been framed by delinquents. Another of the same tenor was drawn up by the inhabitants of Westminster, who were treated in the same ignominious manner. The mayor and aldermen, at the instigation of the parliament, sent deputies to the king, with a petition, desiring him to disband his army, and return to his parliament. To this he returned an answer by a gentleman, who was permitted to read it before the common-council of the city, assembled for that purpose; and in presence of a committee of lords and commons, who had taken proper precautions to prevent its having any effect to his advantage. The parliament seemed to have nothing so much at heart as the extirpation of episcopacy, for which the commons had prepared a bill; and, by their intrigues, it passed the upper house, where otherwise it would have met with opposition. They observed, that this was the sole condition upon which the Scots would take arms in their behalf; and they insinuated to those whom they knew extremely averse to this measure, that in case of a treaty with the king, this bill would alarm him with such apprehensions for the

church, that he would be glad to redeem the hierarchy with some signal concession. This great point being gained, they began to prepare propositions of peace to be presented to his majesty. A. C. 1642. Clarendon.

Mean while the civil war continued to rage in different parts of the kingdom. The earl of Newcastle, having levied forces for the king's service in the North, was opposed in his passing the river Tees, that separates the bishopric of Durham from Yorkshire, by young Hotham, at the head of a strong detachment from the army of lord Fairfax, who commanded for the parliament in that country: but the earl forced his passage, and took possession of York with eight thousand men. He afterwards attacked the intrenchments of Fairfax at Tadcaster; but met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to retire, after a very obstinate action. At Gisborough Sir Hugh Cholmley defeated six hundred men in the king's service, commanded by colonel Slingsby, who was taken, with a good number of his followers: and the town of Leeds, garrisoned by fifteen hundred men, under Sir William Saville, was assaulted and taken by young Fairfax, son to the general. In the southern parts of the kingdom, Sir William Saville, for the parliament, reduced Farnham, Winchester, and Chichester. In February, prince Rupert took Cirencester by assault, and made twelve hundred prisoners. Lord Brook, in attacking some of the king's troops intrenched at Litchfield, lost his life; but the post was taken by his followers. These under Sir John Gill, being reinforced by Sir William Brereton from Nantwich, advanced to Stafford, in quest of the earl of Northampton, who gave them battle on Hopton-heath, though they amounted to three times his number. Their horse were immediately routed; but the earl being dismounted, was slain, after he had given repeated proofs of personal prowess, and refused quarter Battle of Hopton-heath.

A. C. 1642. ter from the hands of such infamous rebels. Sir John Byron, who commanded the victorious cavalry, would have attacked them the next day; but they retired by favour of the darkness. Lord Herbert, who had undertaken the siege of Gloucester, was surprised by Sir William Waller, who routed his forces, and took a great number of prisoners. Then he reduced the castle of Chepstow, and made himself master of Monmouth.

Progress of Sir Ralph Hopton in Cornwall.

The war was carried on with still greater vigour in the western counties. The marquis of Hertford had been appointed general for the king in that part of the country, and established his head-quarters at Bath; but the earl of Bedford, who commanded for the parliament, having raised a considerable force, obliged him to retire into Wales; from whence he detached Sir Ralph Hopton into Cornwall, with about five hundred horse, to manage the king's interest in that county. This gentleman was well received in Cornwall; and the whole county, through the influence of Sir Bevil Greenvil, declared for his majesty. Hopton, having assembled three thousand Cornishmen, drove the commissioners of the parliament from Launceston, where they had made some levies, and afterwards from Saltash; but as they refused to serve in any other county, he dismissed them after this service: nevertheless, he found means to maintain about five hundred regular troops, with which he made incursions into Devonshire. The parliament, alarmed at his success, formed an army of the forces they had raised in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and conferred the command of it upon the earl of Stamford. This nobleman sent a strong detachment into Cornwall, under Ruthven, a Scottish officer, governor of Plymouth, who passed the river Tamar near Saltash, and advanced to Bradock down, in the neighbourhood of Liskard, where he was encountered and defeated

*CAVENDISH* Duke of *NEWCASTLE.*

feated by Sir Ralph Hopton. Ruthven fled to Saltash, which he endeavoured to fortify; and the earl of Stamford, who had proceeded as far as Launceston, in order to join Ruthven, retired to Tavistock. The victors dividing their forces, part of them marched with lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton to Saltash, which they took by assault; Ruthven escaping by sea to Plymouth. The other division, conducted by Sir John Berkley, Sir Bevil Greenvil, and colonel Ashburnham, advanced to Tavistock, which the earl of Stamford abandoned at their approach. Immediately after these transactions, the inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall agreed to a neutrality, that the seat of war might be removed from these two counties. The same expedient was proposed in Yorkshire; and the articles were actually drawn up between the lord Fairfax for the parliament, and Henry Bellasis, heir-apparent of the lord Falconbridge, who adhered to his majesty. These were subscribed by the principal persons of either party; but the parliament disowned the transaction, reprimanded Fairfax, expressed their detestation of a neutrality, and ordered him to proceed according to his former instructions. About the middle of February, the queen, who had sent repeated supplies of arms and ammunition from Holland for his majesty's service, took shipping for England; and arriving at Burlington bay, was received by the earl of Newcastle, who escorted her to York, from whence she was afterwards conducted to Oxford. A. C. 1642.

The two houses, having finished their propositions, demanded of the king a safe-conduct for a committee, which was granted in favour of the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, the lords viscounts Wenman and Dungarnon, Sir John Holland, Sir William Lit- Treaty at Oxford ineffectual.

ton,

A. C. 1642. ton, William Pierpoint, Bulſtroke, Whitelock, Edmund Waller, and Richard Winwood. They ſet out for Oxford in the latter end of January; and met with a very gracious reception from his majeſty, to whom the earl of Northumberland preſented the propoſitions, importing, That he ſhould diſband his army, return to parliament, leave delinquents to juſtice, allow the papiſts to be diſarmed, paſs the bill for aboliſhing epiſcopacy, and others for compelling recuſants to abjure popery, for removing malignant counſellors, ſettling the militia according to the deſire of the parliament; in a word, to relinquiſh all his prerogative, and leave himſelf at the mercy of the two houſes. He in his turn propoſed that his revenue, magazines, towns, forts, and ſhips ſhould be reſtored; that every tranſaction, contrary to law and the king's right, ſhould be annulled; that all illegal power, claimed by the parliament, ſhould be renounced; that a bill might be brought into the houſe for maintaining the Book of Common-prayer againſt ſectaries; that all perſons excepted in the treaty ſhould be tried by their peers; that there ſhould be an immediate ceſſation of arms, and a free trade

A. C. 1643. carried on through the whole kingdom. Conferences were opened upon theſe articles; but as neither ſide would make the leaſt conceſſion to the other, the two houſes recalled their commiſſioners, and broke off the treaty. Neither king nor parliament had, from the beginning, the leaſt hope of ſucceeding in this negotiation; for though a few moderate men on each ſide were extremely deſirous of peace, the majority of the leading men were eagerly bent upon a continuation of the war, in which they found their account. The king himſelf was overruled by the perſuaſions of ſome who enjoyed too great a ſhare of his confidence.

During

During this congreſs he detached prince Rupert, A. C. 1643.
to open a communication between York and Oxford; and he had already made himſelf maſter of Birmingham and Litchfield, when he was recalled to undertake the relief of Reading, which by this time was beſieged by the earl of Eſſex. The garriſon was commanded by Sir Arthur Aſhton; but he being wounded in the beginning of the ſiege, the command devolved upon colonel Fielding. A ſmall reinforcement of three hundred men, with a ſupply of powder, was thrown into the place by lieutenant-general Wilmot; notwithſtanding which the town was not thought to be in a defenſible condition, and Fielding demanded a capitulation; mean while hoſtages were mutually given for a ceſſation of arms. The king began his march from Oxford, to relieve the place; but after an unſucceſsful attempt was obliged to retire: ſo that Fielding ſurrendered the town, on condition of being permitted to retire with all the honours of war. He had, however, neglected to ſtipulate for the ſafety of the deſerters, who were executed by order of Eſſex, whoſe ſoldiers inſulted the garriſon as they marched out, and even plundered the waggons, in contempt of the capitulation: an outrage which the king's ſoldiers retaliated in the ſequel, as often as they found an opportunity. Fielding was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death for having ſurrendered Reading upon ſuch conditions: but he was pardoned in conſideration of his former ſervices, and lived to ſignalize his courage and fidelity on many different occaſions.

Reading taken by the earl of Eſſex.

Clarendon.

The earl of Eſſex being joined by Sir William Waller, who had by this time reduced Hereford, and made an unſucceſsful attack upon Worceſter, he received orders from the two houſes to march towards Oxford, where the king was ſuppoſed to be in great diſtreſs from want of ammunition. He

A. C. 1643. accordingly advanced to Thame, within ten miles of that city. While he remained in this poſt, colonel Urrey, a Scottiſh officer, who had ſerved in Germany with general Ruthven, now created earl of Brentford, took this opportunity of deſerting to the king, and perſuaded prince Rupert to beat up the quarters of the enemy, after having particularly informed him of their diſpoſition. To demonſtrate the practicability of ſuch an exploit, he propoſed to go as a volunteer, with a detachment which he conducted to part of theſe quarters, where he defeated ſome regiments, and brought a good number of priſoners to Oxford. Prince Rupert, encouraged by his ſucceſs, complied with his advice, in making a more vigorous attack upon that part of their army which was quartered at Thame. They departed from Oxford with a ſtrong body of horſe; and, taking a long circuit in the night, arrived by break of day at Wickham, where they cut in pieces two regiments of the enemy: they attacked another quarter with the ſame ſucceſs, and attempted to retire by a bridge, at which they had left a ſufficient guard. By this time the earl of Eſſex had taken the alarm, and detached part of his cavalry, to detain the prince until he ſhould be able to advance with the infantry. They overtook him on the ſkirts of Chalgrave-field, where he wheeled about, and charged them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they betook themſelves to flight, after having loſt ſome of their beſt officers; and among the reſt, the celebrated John Hambden, who had acted as colonel of a regiment ſince the beginning of the war, and proved in many encounters that his courage was equal to any of his other extraordinary endowments. The candour and moderation, for which this gentleman was diſtinguiſhed, in the beginning of the oppoſition to the king's meaſures, had given way to a violence of animoſity againſt the ancient conſti-

Prince Rupert beats up the enemy's quarters at Thame.

Death of John Hambden.

constitution, and the person of his sovereign, by whom he had been declared guilty of high treason. This was an affront he could never forgive: he became passionate and even ferocious, discouraged all overtures towards an accommodation; and now his death struck a damp into the hearts of the whole faction. Other officers of distinction were slain or taken prisoners. The army under Essex was dispirited by these checks, diminished by distemper, and in want of necessaries; so that he thought proper to remove from Thame, and put his troops into quarters of refreshment at St. Alban's, Uxbridge, and other places in that neighbourhood. On the other hand, prince Rupert returned in triumph to Oxford, and recommended Urrey to the king in such warm encomiums upon his courage and conduct, that he received the honour of knighthood, and was preferred to the command of a regiment. A. C. 1643. Clarendon.

The king's affairs still wore a favourable aspect in the western counties, where the neutrality was over-ruled, as in the North, by the votes and declarations of the parliament. Major Chudleigh, with a body of the enemy, made an attempt upon Launceston; but being repulsed, retired to Okington. About the middle of May, the earl of Stamford marching into Cornwall, at the head of seven thousand horse and foot, with a train of artillery, encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, and detached Sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred cavalry, to surprise the high-sheriff of the county at Bodmin. The Cornish loyalists, under lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, seized this opportunity of attacking their infantry, in the absence of their horse. They formed their small army into four divisions, and attacked the hill in so many different parts. After a very warm contest they met upon the summit, disarmed major-general Chudleigh, routed the parliamentarians, and Earl of Stamford routed by the royalists at Stratton.

A. C. 1643. took poſſeſſion of their cannon and camp, while the earl of Stamford retired with precipitation to Exeter; and Sir George Chudleigh, with their cavalry, took the ſame route from Bodmin, as ſoon as he was informed of the earl's diſaſter. The victorious loyaliſts, having received orders to join prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford, who had advanced as far as Somerſetſhire, began their march; and joining the marquis at Chard, the two bodies, thus united, amounted to above ſeven thouſand men in excellent order, with a good train of artillery: thus ſtrengthened they took Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunſtar-caſtle, almoſt without oppoſition.

The two houſes, immediately after the battle of Stratton, ſent Sir William Waller to raiſe an army in the county of Somerſet, in order to retrieve their affairs. He acted with ſuch ſecrecy and diſpatch, that a detachment from his army endeavoured to beat up the quarters of the marquis at Somerton, before he had any intelligence of their approach. They were, however, repulſed by the earl of Carnarvon, who purſued them ſo far that he fell into a kind of ambuſcade, formed by a ſtrong party of Waller's dragoons, before which he was obliged to retreat in his turn, till he was ſuſtained by prince Maurice; a very ſmart action enſued, in which the prince exhibited repeated proofs of the moſt intrepid bravery, and the enemy were routed with conſiderable loſs. The royaliſts, having reſted a few days at Wells, advanced towards Sir William Waller, who had fixed his head-quarters at Bath, and received from London a reinforcement of five hundred cavalry, ſo completely armed with cuiraſſes and defenſive armour, that the loyaliſts termed them the lobſters; and, in the ſequel, found them generally irreſiſtible. After ſome ſkirmiſhes that were fought with various ſucceſs, the marquis and prince Maurice

Maurice marched to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath, in the road to Oxford. Waller, whose aim was to prevent their joining the king, immediately took possession of Lansdown-hill, which he fortified with breast-works and cannon. Then he detached a body of horse towards Marsfield, from whence they were driven back by the royalists, who drew up their forces in order of battle on the plain; but perceiving how advantageously the enemy was posted, they began to retreat to their old quarters. Waller immediately sent his whole cavalry to fall upon their flank and rear; and the new regiment of cuirassiers did great execution; so that the king's horse, hitherto deemed invincible, were broken and dismayed: nevertheless, they were rallied by the valour and activity of their officers, and the enemy fled in their turn. Then the royalists attacked the hill with surprising courage, and gained the summit after a very obstinate engagement; the enemy retiring behind a stone-wall, where they faced the king's troops in good order till night, and then retired to Bath, by favour of the darkness. The marquis was left in possession of the field; but the victory was not purchased without considerable damage. Sir Bevil Greenvill was killed in the attack, together with a good number of excellent officers; and next morning, as Sir Ralph Hopton and serjeant-major Sheldon rode about the field, they were blown up with gunpowder, eight barrels of which happened to be in a waggon, and took fire either by treachery or accident. The major died next day, to the unspeakable regret of the army, by which he was beloved for his courage and amiable disposition; and Sir Ralph Hopton was so miserably scorched, that they despaired of his recovery. The loss of serjeant-major Sheldon, who was the darling of the soldiers, they deemed equivalent

A. C. 1643. Battle of Lansdown-hill.

A. C. 1643 to a defeat, and retreated with heavy hearts to Marsfield.

The marquis then resolved to join his majesty, and began his march for Oxford; but Waller hung upon his rear with such vigilance and activity, that he found it impracticable to reach that city with his whole army. It was therefore resolved, that he and prince Maurice should fight their way through the enemy; and that the infantry and cannon should remain at the Devizes, until the general could return with a reinforcement from Oxford. This resolution they executed; and Sir William Waller beleaguered the Devizes. The earl of Crawford marching at the head of his own regiment of horse, with a convoy of ammunition to the relief of the besieged, was intercepted by a strong body of the enemy's cavalry, and hardly escaped with the loss of his whole convoy. They were by this disappointment reduced to great distress, and hampered so close by Sir William Waller, that it would have been impossible to defend the place for any length of time. The king knowing the importance of relieving them, no sooner understood their situation, from the prince and the marquis, than he detached lord Wilmot, with fifteen hundred cavalry, and two field pieces, to their assistance. Waller immediately drew up his forces on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes, in order to prevent the junction of Wilmot and the king's troops; and Wilmot resolved to give him battle, in hope that the infantry would march out and join him during the engagement. Waller advancing with his whole cavalry, to charge the royalists, met with such a warm reception, that his invincible regiment of cuiraſſiers were broken and dispersed, and his horse routed with great slaughter. Then the Cornish infantry arriving from

Waller defeated on Roundway-down.

*HENRIETTA*, Queen of *CHARLES I.*

from the Devizes, and joining the victorious Wilmot, attacked the enemy's foot with such impetuosity, that almost the whole body was either killed or taken prisoners; and Waller fled with a few followers to Bristol, in which there was a garrison of the parliament's troops. This victory was obtained on the thirteenth day of July, which was doubly fortunate for the king, who, at that very time, met the queen on the field of Keinton, and with her received above two thousand infantry, and one thousand horse, well armed, together with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and one hundred waggons of ammunition, which were conveyed in safety to Oxford. A. C. 1643.

In order to take advantage of the consternation with which Waller's defeat had overwhelmed the parliament and their adherents, Charles consented to the siege of Bristol, projected by prince Rupert; and the whole army was employed in this enterprize. The Cornish troops took post on the side of Somersetshire, and the prince established his quarters on the side of Gloucester. Nathaniel Fiennes commanded in the place, at the head of five and twenty hundred foot, and a regiment of dragoons. The town was in a good posture of defence, and the castle well fortified, and supplied with men, provision, and ammunition. In a council of war, it was determined to proceed by assault; and the troops began the attack on both sides of the town with surprising intrepidity. The Cornish men met with such difficulties from the nature of the ground, and the obstinate defence of the besieged, that, notwithstanding their undaunted courage and resolution, they were repulsed with slaughter, with the loss of many gallant officers. On the other side, where the place was more accessible, prince Rupert had better success. Colonel Washington entered the

The royalists take Bristol by assault.

A. C. 1643 line, and made room for the horſe to follow. The enemy forthwith abandoned their poſts and retired within the town; ſo that the aſſailants, at the expence of much blood, had only obtained poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, and retained little hope of making themſelves maſters of the city, when the governor demanded a parley. He obtained an honourable capitulation, in conſequence of which he ſurrendered the town, and marched out with his arms and baggage: but his ſoldiers were inſulted and plundered by the royaliſts, in revenge for the treatment they themſelves had met with at Reading; and many other outrages were committed in the city, on the ſuppoſition that the inhabitants were diſaffected to the cauſe of his majeſty. The reduction of Briſtol, though it greatly ſwelled the tide of the king's proſperity, coſt him a number of excellent officers, the loſs of whom he ſeverely regretted. Of the Corniſh men, major Kendall, Sir Nicholas Stanning, and the two colonels Trevannion and Buck, were either ſlain or mortally wounded in the attack. In the diviſion of prince Rupert, the colonels Launsford and Moyle were ſhot from windows, after they had entered the ſuburbs; and the lord viſcount Grandiſon died of the wounds he received on this occaſion. He was a young nobleman of unblemiſhed honour, invincible courage, and inviolable fidelity. Fiennes governor of Briſtol was tried by a court-martial for having ſurrendered that city in a cowardly manner, and condemned to death; but the ſentence was remitted by the earl of Eſſex, and he ſpent the remainder of his life in foreign countries.

About this time the earl of Newcaſtle, in the North, encountered the lord Fairfax on Atherſton-moor, where the parliamentarians being totally routed, Fairfax retreated with the remains of them into Hull, of which he was appointed governor,

in the room of Hotham, whom the two houſes had committed to cuſtody. To complete their chagrin, the moſt violent animoſity began to rage between the earl of Eſſex and Sir William Waller. The earl grew jealous of this favourite, and tired of the war; and Waller taxed him with neglect of duty, in allowing the queen to paſs unmoleſted to Oxford, and in ſuffering Wilmot to relieve the Devizes. All theſe concurring calamities made ſuch an impreſſion upon the two houſes, that they ſent Sir William Armyne, young Sir Henry Vane, and two other members, as a deputation to their brethren in Scotland, deſiring they would immediately advance with an army to their aſſiſtance. The king had, before this happy turn of his affairs, iſſued a declaration, declaring the proceedings of the two houſes to be void, as the members did not enjoy the freedom and liberty of parliament; and now he publiſhed a declaration, re-capitulating his late ſucceſſes, repeating the proteſtation he had made in the beginning of the war, expreſſing his eager deſire of peace, his intention to govern by the laws of the land, and maintain the privileges of parliament, and requiring his good ſubjects to aſſiſt him vigorouſly with men and arms, plate, money, and horſes, that he might the ſooner be enabled to put an end to the calamities of the nation.

A. C. 1643.

The two houſes ſend deputies to Scotland.

This declaration, co-operating with the victories he had gained, produced ſuch effects among his adverſaries and their adherents, that if he had marched directly to London, before the fears of the parliament ſubſided, in all probability the war would have been finiſhed to his honour and advantage; but he had caſt his eyes upon the city of Glouceſter, the poſſeſſion of which would have made him maſter of the whole Severne, and enabled him to ſupply his garriſons at Worceſter and Shrewſbury

The king undertakes the ſiege of Glouceſter.

A. C. 1643. Shrewſbury from the city of Briſtol, the command of which was now beſtowed upon prince Rupert, tho' the government was veſted in Sir Ralph Hopton, promoted about this time to the dignity of a baron. The garriſon of Glouceſter was commanded by colonel Maſſey, a ſoldier of fortune, who had formerly ſerved in the king's army under colonel William Leg, during the laſt war with Scotland. This gentleman ſounded his inclination towards his majeſty by a letter, to which he returned a very blunt anſwer; but he in private deſired the meſſenger to tell colonel Leg, that the king might depend upon his attachment. He ſaid, if prince Rupert ſhould be ſent to beſiege Glouceſter, he would defend it to extremity; but to his majeſty in perſon, he would ſurrender at the firſt ſummons. In conſequence of this promiſe, Charles reſolved to march thither without delay. He detached prince Maurice and the earl of Carnarvon towards Dorcheſter, with a body of horſe and foot, to extend his intereſt in the weſtern counties; and he himſelf, attended by the marquis of Hertford, ſet out for Glouceſter, in the neighbourhood of which he arrived on the tenth day of Auguſt. He forthwith ſent a trumpet, to ſummon the town to ſurrender; and the meſſenger returned with two meagre deputies, who demeaned themſelves with great inſolence, and preſented a paper, declaring the citizens would, with God's help, keep the town, according to the commands of his majeſty, ſignified by both houſes of parliament. This was ſubſcribed by the governor, the mayor, thirteen aldermen, and a great number of the moſt ſubſtantial inhabitants. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, the king's council reſolved that the place ſhould be beſieged; and Sir William Vavaſour, who commanded for his majeſty in South Wales, was ordered to draw his forces to the foreſt-ſide of the town, to overawe and reſtrain the beſieged,

sieged, who had broken down the bridges, set fire to the suburbs, and prepared for a vigorous defence. A. C. 1643.

Mean while, the parliament, which had hitherto acted with such unanimity, began to be distracted with divisions and conspiracies. Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet, had, with keen satire, and admirable eloquence, opposed the violent counsels by which the commons were governed. He enjoyed the confidence of the earl of Northumberland, Conway, and other persons of moderation, who detested the furious proceedings of the lower house. He concerted with his brother-in-law Mr. Tomkyns, and Mr. Chaloner the intimate friend of that gentleman, an association of the lords and citizens, to refuse payment of the illegal taxes imposed by the parliament without the royal assent. Their discourse was overheard by a servant of Tomkyns, who betrayed it to Pym. All three were apprehended, tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death. Tomkyns and Chaloner were executed on gibbets erected before their own doors: Waller redeemed himself by informing against his friends, counterfeiting sorrow and remorse, bribing the puritanical ministers, and paying a fine of ten thousand pounds. Then the lords and commons subscribed a covenant, which they imposed upon their army, expressing their abhorrence of the late conspiracy, and their resolution to amend their lives; vowing that they would never lay down their arms so long as the papists, in open war against the parliament, should be screened from justice; and promising to contribute their uttermost in assisting the two houses against the king's army. The insolence of the faction was now risen to such a pitch, that they openly accused the queen of high treason, and presented an impeachment of her to the upper house. An insult which the king resented so warmly, that he issued a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to obey

Conspiracy of Edmund Waller against the two houses.

A.C. 1643. obey the orders of the two houſes, which he no longer acknowledged as the parliament.

Notwithſtanding theſe bold meaſures, the reduction of Briſtol was no ſooner known, than the lords began to deliberate upon expedients for peace, and communicated propoſitions for that purpoſe to the commons, which produced vehement debates, between the violent party and thoſe who were inclined to a ſolid pacification; but at length it was determined by a majority, that the propoſitions ſhould be tranſmitted to his majeſty. The faction immediately began to ply all their engines to cloud this proſpect of an accommodation. The pulpits reſounded with arguments and exclamations againſt a treaty: printed papers were diſtributed and paſted upon all public places, exhorting the people to riſe as one man, and repair to the houſe of commons next morning, as twenty thouſand Iriſh rebels were landed for their deſtruction. A petition againſt peace was drawn up in the common-council, and preſented to the lower houſe by Pennington the lord-mayor; and all Weſtminſter was filled with tumult. Many moderate members withdrew themſelves from the houſe, where they could no longer ſit in ſafety; while the others thanked the city for their petition and advice, and the propoſitions for peace were rejected. A great number of the wives of citizens delivered a petition for peace; but they were attacked, and many of them killed and wounded, by a troop of horſe commanded by one Hervey. The two houſes received Waller after his defeat with the warmeſt expreſſions of eſteem. He was choſen commander in chief of the forces and militia of London; and they declared that they would enable him to take the field again, to relieve their diſtreſſed friends in the Weſt. They paſſed an ordinance to raiſe a new army, under the command of the earl of Mancheſter, to oppoſe the earl of

of Newcastle, and protect the associated counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntington, and Lincoln. Then they sent a committee of both houses to soothe the earl of Essex, who had been for some time disgusted; and had indeed conferred with the moderate party, upon expedients to force the two houses into pacific measures. Whatever arguments the committee used, he was persuaded to re-adopt their sentiments; and his other friends fearing he would discover their design, withdrew themselves from the parliament. The earl of Portland, lord Lovelace, and lord Conway, repaired to Oxford; and their example was followed by the earl of Clare. The earls of Bedford and Holland escaped to the king's garrison at Wallingford; and the earl of Northumberland retired to his own house at Petworth in Sussex. A. C. 1643. Several noblemen retire from parliament to the king's quarters.

While the king was employed in the siege of Gloucester, the city of Dorchester, Weymouth, and Portland, surrendered to the earl of Carnarvon, who left his army under the command of prince Maurice, and repaired to the king, in discontent at some outrages which the troops had committed with impunity. Sir John Digby routed a body of the parliament's forces at Torrington; Barnstaple and Bediford were surrendered to him without opposition; and prince Maurice undertook the siege of Exeter, which was delivered into his hands by capitulation, by the earl of Stamford. The siege of Gloucester proceeded slowly, from the king's want of necessaries for such an enterprize; and the valour and vigilance of Massey, who made repeated sallies, in which the besiegers sustained incredible damage. At length the earl of Essex undertook the relief of the place. The two houses supplied him forces, among which he mustered four regiments of the city trained bands; and towards the end of August he began his march from London. The rendezvous The earl of Essex sent to the relief of Gloucester.

A.C. 1643 vous of his troops was at Aylesbury, where, being joined by the lord Gray, and reinforcements from the associated counties, he found himself at the head of eight thousand infantry, and half that number of horse. Then he continued his march by Brackley: though he was a little incommoded by a detachment of the king's horse, sent on purpose to harrass him with light skirmishes, he proceeded with great expedition; and the king's forces abandoning their works at his approach, he entered Gloucester in triumph, when the garrison was reduced to extremity. Having supplied the town with provision, ammunition, and a reinforcement of soldiers, he marched to Tewksbury; from whence he made a sudden motion to Cirencester, where he surprised two regiments of the royalists, and seized a great quantity of provisions prepared for the king's army: then he took his route thro' the northern parts of Wiltshire, having marched twenty miles before the king was informed of his motions.

Battle of Newbury.

Prince Rupert was immediately detached over the hills, to intercept him in his march, and amuse him with skirmishes, until the king in person should bring up the infantry. He performed this service with such expedition, that before the enemy reached Newbury, he charged, and put their rear in confusion; and, though they behaved with great conduct and resolution, he compelled them to shorten their intended march, and take up their quarters at Hungerford. Next day, which was the seventeenth of September, the king took possession of Newbury with his foot; so that Essex was obliged to pass the night in the open field; and was indeed in such a situation, that in all probability he would have found it extremely difficult to extricate himself, had the royalists avoided a battle: but he was obliged to the impetuosity of some young

young officers, who despised such maxims of caution. He drew up his men in order of battle, upon Brigs-hill, within a short mile of Newbury, and made such a disposition as became a general of his conduct and experience. The royalists began to skirmish in small successive parties, until they were insensibly engaged so far, that the king found it necessary to hazard a general action. The king's horse charged with their usual intrepidity, and even routed the cavalry of Essex; but they could make no impression upon his foot, behind which the horse rallied as often as they were put in confusion. The London trained-bands, in particular, opposed themselves like a rampart against the efforts of the royalists, and managed their pikes with such dexterity, that prince Rupert attacked them in vain, at the head of his choice cavalry. The battle was fought all day, with equal obstinacy on both sides; and night parted the combatants, before either army could claim the victory. The king recalled his troops from the field; and next morning the earl of Essex pursued his march towards Reading, which he reached with his cannon and baggage, after his rear had been severely handled by prince Rupert, who charged it when entangled in defiles, at the head of his horse, and one thousand musqueteers. Though the number of men slain in the battle of Newbury was not very considerable, the king sustained irreparable loss in the fate of some worthy noblemen who fell in the engagement. The earl of Sunderland, a young nobleman of promising parts, was killed by a cannon-bullet. The earl of Caernarvon who had served his royal master with such courage and ability, was run through the body with a sword, and expired in an hour after he had received the wound; but the theme of universal lamentation was A. C. 1643.

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A. C. 1643. Death of lord Falkland.

the death of the great, the good, the amiable Lucius Cary lord viſcount Falkland, ſecretary of ſtate, the darling of the muſes, the patron of learning and merit, the mirror of integrity, and the pattern of conſummate virtue. This excellent perſon had conſtantly oppoſed the crown in thoſe meaſures which he deemed dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject, and the privileges of parliament: but when he perceived the drift of the demagogues was to ruin the conſtitution; that the king had ſufficiently atoned for the errors of his conduct, during the firſt part of his reign, by the manifold conceſſions he had made in favour of his people, he diſclaimed their proceedings, and eſpouſed the cauſe of his ſovereign in diſtreſs: yet he was ſo much afflicted at ſeeing his country involved in the calamities of a civil war, that he loſt his former ſerenity of temper; he became ſilent, penſive, and reſerved; and, in the midſt of his friends, the word, "Peace" often broke from him with a profound ſigh. He eagerly forwarded every overture of an accommodation; and, that this conduct might not ſeem the reſult of perſonal timidity, he expoſed himſelf on all occaſions to the moſt imminent hazard, as if he had deſpiſed life, or been enamoured of danger. When his temper firſt changed, he began to neglect the exterior ornaments of his perſon, in which he had been formerly exact and curious; but in the morning of the battle, as if he had foreſeen his fate, he beſtowed extraordinary pains upon his apparel, ſaying, the enemy ſhould not find his body in a ſlovenly condition. "I am weary of the times (added he) and "foreſee much miſery to my country; but be-"lieve I ſhall be out of it before night." He charged in the front of lord Byron's regiment, and being ſhot in the belly, fell from his horſe; but his body

*CARY* Lord *FALKLAND.*

body was not found till next morning. This is one of the most finished characters which we find upon record; and his death the more lamentable, as he died in the four and thirtieth year of his age. A. C. 16 3. Clarendon. Rushworth. Whitelock.

The earl of Essex having refreshed his men at Reading, quitted that place, which was immediately secured for the king, with a strong garrison, commanded by Sir Jacob Ashley: and his majesty retired to Oxford. Essex, by slow marches, returned to London, where he was received with joy and acclamation; and the two houses appointed a solemn thanksgiving, not only for his success in relieving Gloucester, but also for the signal victory he had obtained at Newbury. Indeed this action might have been fatal to the king, had Sir William Waller, who was quartered at Windsor with four thousand horse and foot, advanced to the assistance of Essex: but he did not at all interest himself in the fortune of that nobleman; though they were afterwards formally reconciled to each other by the mediation of the two houses. The king's little court was distracted by cabals. Prince Rupert thwarted the marquis of Hertford: the queen had her own favourites, among whom the principal was the lord Jermyn. The earls of Bedford, Clare, and Holland, were treated with coldness and reserve, even after they had served at the siege of Gloucester, and behaved with remarkable gallantry at the last battle. They resented this impolitic conduct of the king, who was incapable of dissimulation; and took the first opportunity of returning to the parliament, from which they easily obtained forgiveness: the earl of Northumberland being informed of the reception they had met with at Oxford, resumed his seat in the house of lords, without being questioned, as he had never manifested his intention to desert their cause. Earls of Bedford, Clare, and Holland, abandon the king.

A. C. 1643. The committee of the commons which had been sent into Scotland, met with all the success they could desire in their negotiation with the convention of estates, and the general assembly of that nation. They declared themselves ready to assist their brethren of England; and proposed that the two kingdoms should agree in a covenant for the extirpation of prelacy, and a more intimate union of the English and Scottish parliaments. A draught of such a covenant was transmitted to the two houses at Westminster, where it was received with applause; and subscribed by the lords, commons, and assembly of divines. By this solemn league and covenant, they bound themselves to preserve the reformed religion in the three kingdoms; to promote a uniformity in doctrine and discipline; to extirpate popery and prelacy; to maintain the privileges of parliament and the liberties of the people; to defend his majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and the liberties of the kingdom; to discover incendiaries and malignants, that they might receive condign punishment; to promote a firm peace and union to all posterity; to assist one another with all their power, renounce neutrality, and resist temptation; to humble themselves for their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation. This covenant was read in St. Margaret's church at Westminster, in presence of both houses; and the commons ordered that it should be taken next Sunday by all persons in their respective parishes. The Scots, on this occasion, were partly influenced by temporal interest, and partly by fanaticism. They began to fear, that should the king triumph over the two houses, he would retract all the concessions which had been extorted from him by the Scottish nation. They were inflamed with the hope of establishing their darling

The two houses subscribe the solemn league and covenant.

Whitelock.

darling presbytery in England, and even extending it to the remotest regions, and some of them were allured with the prospect of sharing the spoils of the royalists. A. C. 1643.

In the beginning of the spring, the earl of Loudon, chancellor of Scotland, with other commissioners of that kingdom, attended by their apostle Henderson, had visited the king at Oxford, and renewed their offer of mediation. They even, in the most pressing solicitation, recommended the presbyterian model of worship and discipline; and he was obliged to desire they would be contented with the concessions he had already made in their favour. They met with no better success, in requesting him to summon a Scottish parliament; and in demanding a passport for London, where they intended to confer with the two houses. Thus baffled in all their endeavours, they returned highly discontented to their own country. As they could not prevail upon the king to convoke a parliament, the conservators of the peace, lately chosen to maintain the confederacy with England, assembled in his majesty's name a convention of the estates, which, as well as the parliament, was vested with power to levy troops, and impose taxes. The duke of Hamilton, and his brother the earl of Lanerk, had undertaken to oppose the king's adversaries in this assembly: but either from want of sincerity, or power, they concurred with them in all their transactions. The Scottish covenanters were themselves over-reached by the profound craft and impenetrable dissimulation of Sir Henry Vane, who, though he hated presbytery, as much as he was averse to episcopacy, acquiesced in all their demands, assisted them in drawing up the covenant, seemed to enter warmly into their religious views, and loudly extolled their discipline, which in his heart he despised. Thus cajoled, and encouraged with the

A. C. 1643 sum of one hundred thousand pounds, advanced to them on the credit of the two houses, they began to assemble their forces with great alacrity; and, in a little time, their army amounted to twenty thousand men, the command of whom they bestowed upon their old general the earl of Leven, who accepted the office without hesitation, though he had solemnly promised that he would never bear arms against his majesty. In the treaty between the two nations, it was stipulated, that a committee of the Scots should always sit with the close committee at Westminster, for carrying on the war with equal authority; and that there should be no treaty of peace without the joint consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms.

The Scots assemble an army.

Clarendon.

About this time, the count D'Harcourt arrived in London, as ambassador extraordinary from the king and queen regent of France, to offer their good offices towards a reconciliation between the king and his parliament. He was received with great ceremony by the two houses, and visited the king at Oxford. At his return from thence, he sent a paper to the earl of Northumberland; desiring he would intimate to parliament, that the king his master, and the queen his mistress, were extremely desirous of interposing their good offices for re-establishing the peace of England; and that, if they would explain the reasons that induced them to take up arms, he would endeavour to propose such expedients as might effect an accommodation. The two houses accepted the offer of the king and queen regent of France, with all due respect; and assured him, that when he should make any propositions to the parliament, by authority from their majesties of France, they would return suitable answers. He had, at his first arrival in Oxford, proposed an alliance offensive and defensive between the king and his master; and afterwards,

The king and queen-mother of France send over an ambassador to offer their mediation for a peace between the king and parliament.

*RICH* Earl of *WARWICK.*

wards, when Charles agreed to the propoſal, he waved it on a frivolous pretence; but promiſed that the court of France ſhould aſſiſt the king of England in every thing that might contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of his authority. After ſome ſlight efforts to produce a negotiation, he quitted the kingdom, not without ſuſpicion of having fomented thoſe differences which he pretended to compromiſe. Richlieu was now dead, but ſucceeded in the miniſtry by cardinal Mazarin, who adopted the maxims of his predeceſſor. A. C. 1643.

The two houſes having prepared a new great-ſeal, exactly reſembling that which the lord-keeper Lyttleton had delivered to the king, publiſhed an ordinance, declaring void and invalid all grants and letters-patent, which had paſſed the great-ſeal ſince the keeper left the houſe; veſting their own ſeal with the whole authority; and pronouncing that whoſoever ſhould, for the future, paſs or claim any thing under another great-ſeal, ſhould be held an enemy to the ſtate. It was committed to ſix commiſſioners, ſolemnly ſworn to execute the office of keepers of the great-ſeal, according to the orders of both houſes of parliament; and the firſt inſtance in which they uſed it, was a patent conſtituting the earl of Warwick lord high-admiral of England. The king having ſent writs to the judges of Weſtminſter for adjourning the term to Oxford, the meſſengers were tried by a court-martial as ſpies, and condemned to be hanged: one was accordingly executed, and the other committed to Bridewell. Charles, notwithſtanding his ſucceſſes in the courſe of the campaign, had met with divers checks that had an unfortunate influence on his affairs. Beſides his being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Glouceſter, and the loſs he had ſuſtained at Newbury, three thouſand of the king's men, under major-general Goring, were defeated at Wakefield, The king ſummons the lords and commons to Oxford.

A. C. 1643. by young Fairfax; and their commander fell into the hands of the enemy: lord Withrington with part of the troops belonging to the marquis of Newcaſtle's forces, were routed at Horn-caſtle in Lincolnſhire, by the earl of Manchester, lord Willoughby, and Oliver Cromwell: he was likewiſe obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Hull, which he had undertaken in conſequence of a correſpondence with the two Hothams, who were detected and ſent priſoners to London; and the Scots were by this time in a condition to enter England. In hope of averting the ſtorm from Scotland, the peers at Oxford ſubſcribed a letter to the Scottiſh council of ſtate, repreſenting the foulneſs of the rebellion raiſed by the two houſes at Weſtminſter, reminding them of their obligation to the king, and conjuring them to deſiſt from their purpoſe of aſſiſting the parliament: then the king, to convince his ſubjects of the prepoſterous claim which the remnant at Weſtminſter laid to the appellation of parliament, iſſued a proclamation, ſummoning the members of both houſes to aſſemble at Oxford, on a certain day in January fixed for that purpoſe.

He concludes a truce with the rebels in Ireland.

His next expedient for his own defence, was a ſcheme to uſe part of the troops that ſerved in Ireland againſt the rebels of that kingdom. The Engliſh parliament had taken no other effectual ſtep to diſtreſs the Iriſh Roman catholics, but that of contracting with the Scots, who ſent over a good number of troops, that made a diverſion from Dublin, and protected the Britiſh planters in the North. Notwithſtanding the great inequality of numbers, the Engliſh troops in that kingdom had routed the rebels in many encounters; and the earl of Ormond had obtained two ſignal victories over them. Nevertheleſs, as the two houſes neglected to ſupply them with proviſion, ammunition, and recruits, they were by this time deſtitute of the common neceſſaries

ceſſaries of life. The juſtices, who were diſaffected to the king, had been removed by the influence of Ormond, and their places ſupplied with others who wiſhed well to his majeſty; for this reaſon, the parliament paid the leſs regard to their ſolicitations. They tranſmitted to the two houſes a remonſtrance from the army, deſcribing their deplorable ſituation, and deſiring leave to quit the kingdom, otherwiſe they ſhould have recourſe to thoſe means with which nature had furniſhed them for their own preſervation. The rebels had ſent repeated petitions to the king, beſeeching him to appoint commiſſioners to hear what they could ſay in their own vindication. Influenced by theſe concurring motives, he authorized Ormond and the juſtices to conclude a ceſſation for one year, with the council of the rebels at Kilkenny; and ordered the earl to tranſport part of the army to England. A. C. 1643.

Declaration of the lords and commons at Oxford, againſt the Scots, who enter England.

The lords and commons meeting at Oxford, agreed, with the king's approbation, to ſend a trumpet with a letter to the earl of Eſſex, expreſſing their earneſt deſire to heal the bleeding wounds of their country, and conjuring him to communicate this their deſire to the two houſes at Weſtminſter, that perſons might be appointed on either part to treat of an accommodation. This letter was ſubſcribed by three and forty noblemen, dukes, marquiſſes, earls, viſcounts, and barons, and one hundred and eighteen members of the houſe of commons; whereas, not above two and twenty peers were engaged in the oppoſite party. The earl of Eſſex ſent back the trumpeter with a ſhort billet to the king's general, the earl of Brentford, importing, that he could not communicate the letter to parliament, becauſe it was not addreſſed to the two houſes. At the ſame time, he

A. C. 1643 tranſmitted copies of the national covenant, and a canting declaration of both kingdoms, pronouncing the curſe of Meroz upon thoſe who ſhould not come to help the Lord againſt the mighty. The king, without intermitting his preparations for war, ſent a meſſage to the lords and commons at Weſtminſter, propoſing a treaty: and to this they replied, That they were reſolved to defend the rights of parliament with their lives and fortunes, deſiring his majeſty's hearty concurrence with their meaſures. All hope of a pacification was again diſpelled. The houſes at Weſtminſter impoſed an exciſe on wine, beer, and other commodities; and thoſe at Oxford followed their example. Theſe laſt publiſhed a declaration, explaining the reaſons which had compelled them to leave the parliament at Weſtminſter. They declared that the Scots had broke the act of pacification: that all his majeſty's ſubjects of England and Wales were bound by their allegiance to reſiſt them: that their abettors were traitors and enemies to the ſtate: that the lords and commons at Weſtminſter were guilty of high treaſon, for having levied war againſt the king; for having counterfeited the great-ſeal; and conſented to the invaſion of the Scots: that, in theſe three inſtances, they had betrayed the truſt repoſed in them by their country, and ought to be proſecuted as traitors to the king and kingdom. The marquis of Newcaſtle marched northwards from York, in order to oppoſe the Scots, who entered England in January, when the weather was extremely ſevere; but colonel Bellaſis being defeated at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the marquis was obliged to return and ſecure York; while Fairfax marched into Cheſhire.

The marquis of Ormond being created lord-lieutenant of Ireland, ſent over a good body of foot to

to Cheſter, where joining the lord Byron, they reduced ſeveral places, and defeated a detachment of the parliamentarians at Middlewich. The fugitives retired to Nantwich, and the victors undertook the ſiege of that place; but their good fortune was of ſhort duration. Sir Thomas Fairfax joining Sir William Brereton, marching to the relief of the beſieged, charged them ſuddenly, at a time when they were divided by a rivulet ſwelled by exceſſive rain: the garriſon making a ſally at the ſame time, the beſiegers were totally routed; and lord Byron eſcaped with the horſe to Cheſter. On this occaſion the celebrated colonel Monk was taken, and committed priſoner to the Tower; but he afterwards engaged in the ſervice of the parliament. The earl of Montroſe, in a viſit to the king at Oxford, had impeached the conduct of duke Hamilton in ſuch a manner, that his majeſty was convinced of that nobleman's having betrayed his intereſt; and when the duke, with his brother the earl of Lanerk, came to court from Scotland at this juncture, they were put under an arreſt by the king's order: Lanerk eſcaped to London; but the duke was committed priſoner to Briſtol, and afterwards removed to the caſtle of Pendennis in Cornwall. About this time, the two houſes were deprived of their corner-ſtone, in the death of John Pym, who had in a great meaſure influenced all their counſels, and was a man of extenſive parts, and indefatigable induſtry. The prince elector palatine, who had retired from England in the beginning of the civil war, now arrived in London, and was careſſed by the parliament. Whitehall was aſſigned to him for his lodgings. The two houſes iſſued an order for paying the penſion of twelve thouſand pounds, which had been formerly granted to him by his majeſty; he ſubſcribed the

A. C. 1643.

The troops from Ireland routed at Nantwich by Sir Thomas Fairfax.

ſolemn

A. C. 1643. solemn league and covenant, and was admitted to sit in the assembly of divines.

A. C. 1644. Mean while, the severity of the season did not interrupt the operations of war. As the marquis of Newcastle retired, the Scots advanced farther into the kingdom. They summoned the town of Newcastle to surrender, but the garrison refusing to submit, they passed the Tyne; and being joined by the lord Fairfax at Tadcaster, the two generals resolved to undertake the siege of York, to which the marquis had retired. As it was a city of a large extent, they would not proceed in form, until they should be reinforced by the troops under the earl of Manchester, who commanded in the associated counties; and in the mean time, they formed a blockade on one side only. The town of Newark in Nottinghamshire, garrisoned by the king's troops, being besieged by lord Willoughby and Sir John Meldrum, at the head of five thousand men, the king detached prince Rupert with a body of forces to succour the place. When he approached the town, Meldrum, who commanded in the absence of Willoughby, drew up his army in order of battle; and an action ensuing, both sides fought with great obstinacy till night, when Meldrum attempted to retire by a bridge where he had posted a strong guard, to secure his retreat. This, however, he found occupied by the royalists; so that he was surrounded on all hands, and next day obliged to capitulate. The prince agreed, that the officers and troopers should retire with their horses, and the infantry with their swords: but Meldrum was obliged to deliver up all his other arms, artillery, and ammunition.

Prince Rupert totally defeats the parliamentarians at Newark.

After this signal victory, prince Rupert marched to the relief of the countess of Derby, who was besieged in her house of Latham in Lancashire, by a body

a body of two thousand parliamentarians. She had defended herself with incredible courage for two months; and now the besiegers abandoning their enterprize, part of them reinforced the garrison of Bolton, which the prince afterwards took by assault. Then he made himself master of Liverpool, where he received a letter from the king, commanding him to relieve York, and give battle to the enemy. By this time, the earl of Leven and lord Fairfax were joined by the earl of Manchester, with a good body of infantry; and the siege of York was begun. The marquis of Newcastle made a vigorous defence; and about the beginning of July, prince Rupert approached at the head of an army little inferior in number to the besiegers. They forthwith abandoned their enterprize, and took post on Marston-moor, while the prince entered York in triumph. He there, in a conference with the marquis, proposed to give battle to the enemy, and paid no regard to the remonstrances of that nobleman, who assured him, that the Scots and English being at variance, would separate in a few days, of their own accord; and that he expected a reinforcement of five thousand men from the North. The prince, on this occasion, demeaned himself in such an imperious manner as shocked and incensed the marquis, whose birth and services intitled him to the utmost respect. When the prince ordered the troops to be in readiness to engage next day, the marquis told him, he should not hesitate in obeying his majesty's nephew; but that, for his own part, he would serve as a volunteer in the battle. On the third day of July the prince advanced against the enemy; and about two in the afternoon, both armies were drawn up in order of battle. But as there was a ditch between them, some time elapsed before the action began. The prince appeared at the head of his left

A. C. 1644.

Battle of Marston-moor.

A. C. 1644. left wing, consisting of five thousand horse; the right was commanded by Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Urry; while the main body was directed by general Goring. Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of the enemy, consisting of all their cavalry, joined by three regiments of Scottish horse; the left was under the direction of the earl of Manchester and lieutenant-general Cromwell; lord Fairfax took post with a body of reserve, consisting of his infantry, reinforced with a brigade of the Scottish foot; and the main body was commanded by the earl of Leven. Prince Rupert charged the right wing of the enemy with such impetuosity, that they were totally routed; and the three generals of the parliament quitting the field, fled towards Cawood castle. But the battle was restored by the valour and conduct of Oliver Cromwell, who, at the head of their left wing, engaged the right of the royalists, in which the marquis of Newcastle acted as a volunteer. They fought on both sides with incredible fury for some time; but at length the king's forces were totally defeated: and when his left wing, which had been victorious, returned from the pursuit, Cromwell attacked it with such intrepidity before it could be reduced into order, that it was entirely broken and dispersed; so that the parliament obtained a complete victory. The prince lost six thousand men, one half of whom fell in battle, together with all his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was so much chagrined and confounded at this reverse of fortune, that instead of retiring into York, until he should receive further orders from his majesty, he retreated into Shropshire, with the wreck of his army, while the marquis of Newcastle, disgusted by his imperious deportment, embarked at Scarborough for the continent, where he remained till the restoration.

Rushworth. Whitelock. Ludlow. Clarendon.

He

*THOMAS* Lord *FAIRFAX.*

He was a nobleman of a moſt dignified character; A. C. 1644.
a liberal and munificent patron of the ingenious arts, of unſhaken loyalty, invincible courage, and extenſive influence; ſo that the royal cauſe ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in his retreat. Immediately after the battle of Marſton-moor, the three generals returned to the ſiege of York, which in a few days was ſurrendered by Sir Thomas Glenham the governor, who found himſelf unable to hold out for any length of time, and deſpaired of relief. The lord Fairfax took poſſeſſion of the city; the earl of Mancheſter marched back towards the aſſociated counties; and the Scottiſh army returned to the North, in order to join the earl of Calendar on his march from Scotland with a ſtrong reinforcement. When this junction was effected, they undertook the ſiege of Newcaſtle, which they carried by aſſault.

The parliament had made extraordinary preparations for this campaign. Beſides the armies of Fairfax and Mancheſter they had levied ten thouſand horſe and foot to be under the command of Eſſex; and ordered the aſſociated counties of Kent, Surry, Suſſex, and Hants, to maintain ſix thouſand under the command of Sir William Waller, whom they intended to oppoſe to prince Maurice in the Weſt, where he bore down all oppoſition. The king, in order to baffle their deſign, detached lord Hopton towards Suſſex, and Waller faced him at Farnham; but after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, this general withdrew his troops into the place, and repaired to London, that he might repreſent to the two houſes the neceſſity of a reinforcement. He was accordingly ſupplied with a body of the city-militia, and Eſſex was ordered to accommodate him with a thouſand horſe, under the command of Sir William Balfour. Waller, thus reinforced, retook the caſtle of Arundel, which Hopton had Ruſhworth. Clarendon.

A. C. 1644. reduced in his abſence; and this laſt general, having received a ſupply of men from his majeſty, reſolved to give the enemy battle. The two armies met near Alresford, on the twenty-ninth day of March. The king's horſe were routed by Sir William Balfour, and the infantry very ſeverely handled: nevertheleſs the action continued till night, when lord Hopton retired with his artillery and ammunition towards Reading, and left Waller in poſſeſſion of the field; from whence he marched to Wincheſter, which he plundered, though he could not reduce the caſtle.

Lord Hopton worſted at Arlesford.

The king retires to Worceſter.

The two houſes, elated by this advantage, reſolved to finiſh the war at once, by undertaking the ſiege of Oxford, where the king reſided; and for this ſervice they deſtined the armies of Eſſex and Waller. The king, ſuſpecting their deſign, withdrew his garriſon from Reading, after having diſmantled the place, and aſſembled an army amounting to twelve thouſand men, part of which he poſted at Abingdon, in order to check the progreſs of the enemy. Eſſex and Waller began their march apart; the firſt at the head of twelve thouſand foot and three thouſand cavalry: the other with ſeven thouſand infantry, and fifteen hundred dragoons. At the approach of Eſſex the king's officer abandoned his poſt at Abingdon, of which the other took immediate poſſeſſion; while his majeſty endeavoured to defend the banks of the Iſis and the Cherwell, which however they found means to paſs in ſpite of all his endeavours. They thought they had now entangled their ſovereign in the toil; but he eſcaped in the night with a ſmall body of horſe, at the head of which he and the prince arrived in ſafety at Worceſter. He had already prorogued his parliament at Oxford, and the queen had retired to Exeter, very far advanced in her pregnancy. There ſhe was delivered of the princeſs

princeſs Henrietta; and when Eſſex advanced into the weſtern counties, ſhe demanded a ſafe-conduct for Briſtol, which he refuſed. Then ſhe retired to Cornwall, where ſhe embarked for France, under convoy of a ſhip of war ſent thither by the prince of Orange. The generals of the parliament were not a little ſurpriſed when they underſtood the king had eſcaped from Oxford. The two houſes had ordered Eſſex to follow his majeſty, in caſe he ſhould retire from that city; and Waller was commanded to manage their intereſt in the Weſt. The earl, however, marched into the weſtern counties, contrary to their diſpoſition; and he advanced as far as Saliſbury, when he received an order from the parliament, commanding him to return and purſue the king, and leave the weſtern expedition to Waller. Inſtead of obeying this mandate, he wrote a letter to the committee of war, explaining his conduct, and ſubſcribed himſelf "their innocent, though ſuſpected ſervant." They did not think proper to exaſperate him at ſuch a juncture, and he proſecuted his march into Devonſhire. Prince Maurice raiſed the ſiege of Lyme, and retired to Exeter. Dorcheſter, Weymouth, and Tiverton ſurrendered to the earl, and he was admitted into Barnſtaple, where finding one Howard, an officer in the king's army, who had deſerted from the ſervice of the parliament, he ordered him to be executed by martial law. Prince Maurice retaliated this inſtance of ſeverity upon one Turpin, maſter of a ſhip, who had been formerly condemned for carrying arms againſt his ſovereign; though the execution of the ſentence had been hitherto reſpited. The two houſes, incenſed at the prince's preſumption, ordered judge Glanville to be proſecuted as guilty of high treaſon, for having been concerned in condemning Turpin. This judge had declared for the king in the beginning A. C. 1644.

of

A. C. 1644. of the civil war; but, in the ſequel, abandoned the cauſe of his ſovereign. Fourteen clothiers were hanged at Woodhouſe by the king's party; and the parliamentarians executed eight Iriſh priſoners, who had been taken in a ſkirmiſh.

The king arrived at Worceſter on the ſixth day of June; and in order to deceive the vigilance of Waller, who had followed him with ſurpriſing expedition, he made a feigned march towards Shrewſbury, as if he had intended to join prince Rupert before the battle of Marſton-moor. Waller, believing this was really his intention, made a haſty march, and took poſt between him and Shrewſbury: then the king wheeled off ſuddenly, and took the route to Oxford, in the neighbourhood of which he was joined by the reſt of his army. After this junction he marched to Buckinghamſhire, in order to give battle to the enemy. Waller approached with the ſame deſign; and the two armies appeared on oppoſite ſides of the river Cherwell, on the twenty-ninth day of June. The king, with a view to draw Waller from the advantageous ground of which he had taken poſſeſſion, pretended to begin his march for Northamptonſhire, leaving a ſtrong guard at the bridge of Cropredy, to diſpute the paſſage with the foe. Receiving intelligence that a large detachment of the enemy was within a mile of his van, he ordered it to double its pace, in hope of intercepting the whole body: Waller no ſooner perceived that there was a great diſtance between his van and his rear, than he ordered a large detachment to ford the river; while he himſelf, with fifteen hundred horſe, a thouſand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, attacked and made himſelf maſter of the bridge of Cropredy. Then paſſing with his whole forces, he fell upon the king's rear, but was repulſed by the gallantry of the earl of Cleveland, who routed his

Action at Cropredy-bridge.

his horſe, took part of his artillery, and compelled A. C. 1644.
him to repaſs the river with precipitation. The king attacked the bridge and ford in his turn: the laſt he gained; but his attempt upon the bridge was ineffectual. Next day, on the ſuppoſition that Waller's ſoldiers would lay down their arms upon an aſſurance of pardon, the king ſent a trumpeter to demand a ſafe-conduct for a gentleman, with a gracious meſſage from his majeſty; but Waller anſwered, that he had no power to receive any ſuch meſſage without the conſent of parliament, to which the king might make his application.

After the two armies had faced one another for Ruſhworth.
two days, they retired by different routes. Waller employed himſelf in recruiting his army, which had ſuſtained great loſs in the action; and the king reſolved to direct his march to the weſtern counties, in order to join prince Maurice, and give battle to the earl of Eſſex. By eaſy marches he arrived at Bath, where he received the melancholy account of the battle at Marſton-moor. How mortified ſoever he muſt have been by this intelligence, he bore his fate with ſurpriſing fortitude, and ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to execute the ſcheme he had projected. Eſſex, being appriſed of his deſign, propoſed to meet him half way, and hazard an engagement, if he ſhould find a favourable opportunity: but he was diverted from this reſolution by the lord Roberts, a major-general in his army, who, being a Corniſh man, preſſed him to proceed in his route to Cornwall, where (he aſſured him) the inhabitants would immediately declare for the parliament: the earl accordingly entered that county on the twenty-ſixth day of July. On that very day the king arrived at Exeter, from whence he followed Eſſex towards Launceſton and Bodmin; where that nobleman, finding himſelf diſappointed in his hope, wrote to the two houſes, demanding

A. C. 1644. that an army ſhould be ſent immediately to make a diverſion in his favour. Waller being both unable and unwilling to undertake this expedition, colonel Middleton was detached on that ſervice, at the head of five and twenty hundred horſe. The king, conſcious of the ſtraits to which he had reduced the enemy, wrote a letter with his own hand to Eſſex, exhorting him to uſe his influence for procuring peace to his country. Prince Maurice and the earl of Brentford wrote to him on the ſame ſubject; and he received a letter, ſigned by all the general officers of the king's army, propoſing a treaty; and proteſting they would maintain with their lives and fortunes the conditions to which his majeſty ſhould agree. To theſe addreſſes he replied, that the beſt thing the king could do would be to return to his parliament. About this time lord Wilmot, who had for ſome time fomented a ſpirit of mutiny among the troops, and even given Eſſex to underſtand, that the officers would compel the king to conclude an equitable peace, was arreſted and deprived of his employment, which the king beſtowed on lord Goring, his rival in wit, good fellowſhip, and reputation. Wilmot was afterwards permitted to quit the kingdom. The earl of Eſſex was now reduced to ſuch ſtraits for want of proviſion, that the king, being reinforced by Sir Richard Greenvill, reſolved to reduce him without hazarding a battle. He accordingly raiſed a fort upon the bank of the river by which he had been ſupplied, and hemmed him in on all ſides, ſo as to intercept all his convoys. In this emergency the earl ordered Sir William Balfour to force his paſſage through the king's quarters, at the head of the cavalry; and this ſervice was ſucceſsfully performed, under cover of a very dark night. Then Eſſex ſent a trumpet to demand a parley of the king; but, before the meſſenger re-

Eſſex's infantry diſarmed in the weſt.

returned, he embarked with ſome officers in a veſſel at Foy, and was conveyed to Plymouth, leaving major-general Skippon to make the beſt terms he could obtain for the infantry. A conference was opened by ſome officers of each army, who agreed that Skippon ſhould deliver up all his artillery, arms, and ammunition: That the officers ſhould retain their ſwords and piſtols, and march out with drums beating and colours flying: That they ſhould be conducted, at their choice, to Liſtwithiel, Foy, Pool, Warham, or Southampton; and that the men ſhould not be importuned to enliſt in the king's ſervice. Eſſex, at his return to London, was treated with great civility by the two houſes, notwithſtanding the cauſe they had to complain of his conduct. His ſoldiers were immediately furniſhed with new arms; and his forces recruited. The earl of Mancheſter and colonel Middleton were ordered to reinforce his army; and ſo far were they from being diſpirited by this diſaſter, that they paid no attention to a meſſage received from the king, propoſing a treaty for peace. A. C. 1644.

After an unſucceſsful attempt upon Plymouth, his majeſty left it blockaded by Sir Richard Greenvill, and marching to Chard in Somerſetſhire, publiſhed a proclamation, repreſenting, That his offers of peace had been rejected by the two houſes; ſignifying his reſolution to approach London, and commanding the inhabitants of the country thro' which he ſhould march, to take up arms and join his forces. This expedient produced very little effect in his favour. His army, inſtead of increaſing, was diminiſhed one half ſince he ſet out on his weſtern expedition. His ſoldiers were deſtitute of clothing, neceſſaries, and pay; and the horſe were diſguſted at the diſgrace of Wilmot, who had been very popular among the cavalry.

A. C. 1644. The king was so long retarded in remedying these inconveniences, that he found it impracticable to execute his design, and resolved to return to Oxford. Even this scheme was attended with many difficulties. Sir William Waller was posted at Andover. The earl of Essex being recruited and reinforced, began his march towards the same place; and the earl of Manchester was at hand to join the other two generals. In vain the king attempted to prevent their junction, which was effected at Reading on the twenty-first day of October. He then detached the earl of Northampton with three regiments of horse, to relieve Banbury-castle, besieged by colonel John Fiennes, with the forces of Northamptonshire, Warwick, and Coventry; while he himself marched to Donnington-castle, in the neighbourhood of Newbury, a fortress which had been long blocked up and besieged by the parliament's forces. Having thrown succours into the place, and knighted the governor for his gallant defence, he took possession of Newbury, where he entrenched himself, while the enemy marched against him from Reading, with a great superiority in number of troops. On the twenty-seventh day of October, they attacked his entrenchments in two different parts; and the action was maintained with great violence from four o'clock in the afternoon till night, when the assailants forced the lines in one place, and took several pieces of cannon; but the darkness prevented them from making use of that advantage. On the other side, they had been repulsed with considerable loss: nevertheless, the king thought proper to retire in the night to Wallingford, leaving his artillery and baggage in the castle of Donnington, which the earl of Manchester next day summoned to surrender. Though the governor refused to capitulate, they took no step towards the

Second battle of Newbury.

the reduction of the place, but remained inactive at Newbury, where former animosities between their generals began to revive with redoubled violence. The king retired unmolested to Oxford, where, being joined by prince Rupert with the northern horse, as well as by the earl of Northampton, and reinforced with draughts from different garrisons, he found himself at the head of eleven thousand men, with whom he marched back to Donnington, and drew up his army in order of battle between that castle and the town of Newbury. The enemy likewise appeared in battalia; but they did not think proper to attack the king, who happily returned to Oxford with all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, which he had left in the castle. A. C. 1644. Clarendon. Rushworth.

In the course of this year, the two houses had ordered that each family should deprive itself of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for the service of the public. They published an ordinance totally excluding those members who had deserted their seats in parliament. The States-general sent ambassadors to England, with offers of mediation between the king and parliament. As they were supposed to be influenced by the king's son-in-law the prince of Orange, the two houses eluded the offer, on pretence that they could take no step of that kind without the concurrence of the Scottish nation, with which they were united by the covenant. They, by another ordinance, forbade their officers and soldiers to give quarter to the Irish who should be taken in the king's service. On the eleventh day of November archbishop Laud, who had remained a prisoner since his first impeachment, was brought to his trial, and made such a vigorous defence, that the commons foreseeing he could not be convicted by common evidence, declared him guilty by an act of attainder, which passed the house of lords, though Archbishop Laud condemned and executed.

A. C. 1644. not without some opposition. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houses. Being sentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned, that, as he was a priest, a bishop, a privy-counsellor, and a peer of the realm, he might suffer decapitation; a request which the commons granted with difficulty. On the tenth day of January, this aged prelate was brought to the scaffold, where he harangued the spectators with great fortitude. He declared himself innocent of any design to subvert the laws of the realm, or to establish popery. He protested he had never been an enemy to parliaments, though he could not applaud some of their proceedings. He forgave all his enemies; prayed that God would direct the parliament for the good of the nation; and submitted his neck to the executioner, who with one stroke severed his head from his body. Thus fell the famous archbishop Laud, a prelate of uncommon learning, piety, and virtue, which were clouded with some unhappy prejudices that proved pernicious to his country. About this time the two Hothams were convicted by a court-martial, and beheaded for having connived at the escape of lord Digby, and corresponded with the marquis of Newcastle. On the fourth day of January, the two houses passed an ordinance for abolishing the book of Common-prayer and the Liturgy, and for establishing the Directory, which had been composed by the ecclesiastical assembly.

Whitelock.

Treaty of Uxbridge.

This was a bad omen for the treaty which was then in agitation between the king and parliament. Immediately after his majesty's return to Oxford from Newbury, the two houses demanded and obtained a safe-conduct for their deputies, with proposals of peace, which they had drawn up in the summer. The king having heard them read, demanded, in his turn, a safe-conduct for the duke of

*PIERCY* Earl of *NORTHUMBERLAND*.

of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, who should carry an answer to the two houses: but this request they would not grant, until he addressed himself to the two houses of the English parliament assembled at Westminster, and to the commissioners of Scotland. On this occasion, Charles had recourse to a subterfuge wich does no great honour to his sincerity. He entered a secret protest in the council-books, importing, that though he had denominated them the parliament, he did not acknowledge them as such. By his deputies he proposed that commissioners should be appointed on each side, to meet at an indifferent place, and treat of a pacification. After some disputes, they agreed that the conferences should be opened at Uxbridge, on the thirtieth of January, and continue twenty days; and that the propositions should be reduced to the three articles of religion, the militia, and Ireland. The king's commissioners were the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Kingston, and Chichester; and eleven commons, among whom was Sir Edward Hyde now chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards earl of Clarendon. The two houses appointed twelve deputies, at the head of whom were the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbigh; and the chief of the Scottish commissioners were the earl of Loudon chancellor of that kingdom, and the marquis of Argyle. The propositions offered by the two houses were no other than the most severe conditions they could have imposed upon a prince whom they intended to strip of all the power, and indeed of all the ensigns of royalty. In a word, they demanded that the hierarchy should be abolished, and presbyterianism established in both kingdoms: That the king should subscribe the covenant; abandon his best friends as traitors; give up the militia, and even

A. C. 1644.

A. C. 1644. his own children to the direction of the two houſes, which engroſſed the whole ſovereign authority, Though no peace was to be expected from ſuch propoſals, the king's commiſſioners, in the courſe of the conferences, agreed, That every perſon ſhould enjoy liberty of conſcience touching the ceremonies of the church: That no biſhop ſhould exerciſe any ſort of juriſdiction: That no perſon ſhould be admitted into holy orders without the conſent of the preſbytery: That epiſcopal juriſdiction, with reſpect to marriages and wills, ſhould be regulated by the king and the two houſes: That proper laws ſhould be enacted for the regulations of epiſcopal viſits, the expence of eccleſiaſtical ſuits, frivolous excommunications, and other abuſes of the ſpiritual courts: That the militia ſhould be put into the hands of twenty commiſſioners, one half to be named by the king, and the other by the two houſes: and, That the commiſſion ſhould laſt for three years. Theſe conceſſions were not deemed ſatisfactory by the two houſes. Nothing material was propoſed, relating to the affairs of Ireland; and the twenty days being expired, the conferences broke up, without having produced any proſpect of accommodation.

Difference between the presbyterians and independents.

Rushworth. Whitelock.

This miſcarriage of the treaty was extremely agreeable to the independent party, which now began to diſtinguiſh itſelf from the preſbyterians, with whom it had hitherto concurred in abaſing the royal authority: in every other circumſtance their views were quite different. The preſbyterians ſought to humble and reſtrain the prerogative; the independents to aboliſh monarchy, and introduce a democracy. The preſbyterians rejected the hierarchy; the independents renounced all forms of church-government. They even condemned the ordination of miniſters, allowing all perſons, without exception, to preach, teach, and expound the ſcriptures,

scriptures, according to the talents they had received from God and nature. This sect was composed of such fanatics as gave a loose to the wildest reveries of enthusiasm. It was headed by Vane, Cromwell, Tate, and Hasserig, who found it the best engine for effecting their purpose of overturning the constitution in church and state. These now began to practise every art of acquiring popularity. They employed emissaries among the people, to magnify the errors which had been committed since the commencement of the war, both in the civil and military administration; to insinuate that all such misconduct proceeded from the interested views of individuals, who found their account in the troubles of the nation: and that some of the generals had purposely neglected opportunities of fighting to advantage, dreading nothing so much as a termination of the war. Cromwell had publickly accused the earl of Manchester of having misbehaved from these motives, in the last battle of Newbury. The earl recriminated upon Cromwell, by declaring that, in a conference with this officer, he said, that if Manchester would stick firm to honest men, he would soon find himself at the head of an army, that should give law both to king and parliament. This declaration alarmed the two houses, and in a conference at Essex-house, it was deliberated whether or not Cromwell should be arrested; but this step was postponed to another opportunity. Mean while Oliver and his associates hastened the execution of the scheme they had projected for new-modelling the army. They proposed that the troops should be formed into new regiments; and that members of parliament should be excluded from all offices civil and military. A. C. 1644.

The house of commons having resolved itself into a grand committee, to examine the state of the nation, Cromwell stood up, saying, now was the time The house new-model the army.

A. C. 1644. time to speak, or be silent for ever. He affirmed, that the name of parliament would become odious to the people, unless they should act with more vigour in the prosecution of the war, which some members were accused of protracting for their own interest; and he gave it as his opinion, that every member should resign the office he possessed, as a mark of his disinterested regard for the welfare of the nation. He was seconded by some of his confederates, who spoke in general terms: at length, Tate and Vane proposed an ordinance for excluding members from all offices whatsoever. A committee was appointed to prepare it, together with another for new-modelling the army. A fast was proclaimed for imploring the assistance of God on their endeavours. The pulpits rang with invectives against those members of parliament, who engrossing profitable employments in the government and the army, grew rich by the misfortunes of their country. On the nineteenth day of December, the self-denying ordinance passed the lower house; but was rejected by the lords. Nevertheless, the commons voted new regulations for the army, and bestowed the command of it upon Sir Thomas Fairfax, with power to chuse his own
A. C. 1645. officers. He accordingly delivered his list of colonels, in which there was not one member of parliament. The earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, finding it impossible to resist the popular torrent, resigned their commissions; and next day the lords passed the self-denying ordinance. The presbyterians were fairly outwitted by the nomination of Fairfax for general. He was of their profession, and they imagined he would be true to their interest; but he was intirely governed by the counsels of Cromwell, who dissembled his real sentiments, and professed himself a zealous presbyterian. While the new general resided at Windsor, where

*MARQUIS of MONTROSE.*

where he had fixed his head-quarters, superintending the reformation of his army, the committee of the two kingdoms gave him to understand, that the king had ordered prince Rupert to join him with two thousand horse: they therefore directed him to detach a body of cavalry towards Oxford, to prevent this junction; and expressly ordered him to give the command of this detachment to Cromwell, as the time fixed for putting in execution the self-denying ordinance was not yet arrived. This order was calculated to retain Oliver in the service, even after the ordinance should take place. A. C. 1645.

Victories obtained by the earl of Montrose in Scotland.

During the course of the preceding year, the earl of Montrose had signalized himself in a wonderful series of victories, over the covenanters. On promise of being supplied with men by the earl of Antrim from the North of Ireland, he with great difficulty reached the Highlands of Scotland in disguise. When the Irish landed, to the number of eleven hundred, he produced the king's commission, and assembled about the same number of Highlanders, well affected to the royal cause. Without any regular provision of arms or ammunition, he attacked and routed lord Elcho at Perth, though he commanded an army of six thousand men, armed and well disciplined, one third of which number was slain in the battle and pursuit. Being afterwards joined by the earl of Airly, he routed five and twenty hundred covenanters, headed by the lord Burley at Aberdeen. When surrounded on all hands by the marquis of Argyle, the earl of Lothian, and other noblemen, with the militia of the country, he eluded all their vigilance by the most surprising retreats, marches, and stratagems. He kept the field in the middle of winter, when the ground was covered with snow, exposed to intense cold, famine, and fatigue: he ravaged the country of Argyle with fire and sword:

A. C. 1645. ſword: he defeated the troops of the marquis at Innerlochy, with great ſlaughter. The terror of his name diſperſed a body of five thouſand men, whom the earl of Seaforth had aſſembled: he took Dundee by aſſault, and gave it up to plunder; and retreated above ſixty miles, in the face of a ſuperior enemy, commanded by colonel Urrey, who had by this time deſerted the king, and joined the parliamentarians. He defeated this officer in a pitched battle near Inverneſs; and Bailie, another ſoldier of reputation, marching againſt him with a freſh army, met with the ſame diſaſter. Montroſe having obtained ſuch a ſucceſſion of victories, ſummoned all the royaliſts of Scotland into the field, and made preparations for marching into the ſouthern parts of that kingdom, in order to diſperſe the parliament, which had aſſembled at Perth, with great ſolemnity.

The parliament's army compoſed of fanatics.

The parliament's army was by this time new-modelled according to the plan of Cromwell, ſo as that all members of parliament were excluded; and their adherents reſigning their commiſſions, the vacant places were filled with independents. Theſe acted the part of chaplains as well as of officers: in the intervals of military duty, they exerciſed themſelves in ſermon, prayer, and exhortation. They were ſeized with extaſies of devotion, and poured forth rhapſodies, which they themſelves miſtook for prophecy and inſpiration. Thus actuated, they mounted the pulpits, and held forth in a torrent of that ſort of eloquence, which, tho' leaſt underſtood, is the moſt effectual in kindling the blaze of enthuſiaſm. The common ſoldiers were infected by this contagion: they were ſeized with the ſame holy fervours: they underwent the operations of grace: they communicated their mutual feelings: they gave utterance to the ſpirit: they advanced to battle ſinging pſalms, or religious ſongs;

ſongs: they fought with the moſt eager zeal, and A. C. 1645.
died in full confidence of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. It was with a detachment of ſuch warriors that Cromwell marched from Windſor on the twenty-fourth day of April. In the neighbourhood of Iſlip, he cut in pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry. Blechington was ſurrendered to him at the firſt ſummons, by colonel Windebank, who was condemned by a court-martial, and ſhot for cowardice; but Cromwell was repulſed in his attack upon Farringdon. Taunton being beſieged by Sir Richard Greenvill, the two houſes ordered the general to march to the relief of that place: but when he had advanced as far as Blandford, he received a countermanding order; in conſequence of which he returned to Newbury, after having detached colonel Weldon with a body of horſe and foot, to ſuccour Taunton. At his approach Greenvill raiſed the ſiege; but being afterwards joined by a reinforcement under Goring, he reſumed his operations againſt the place, in which the detachment with Weldon was now included. Ruſhworth.

The king marching to Leiceſter, took that town by aſſault; and Fairfax followed the ſame route, in order to give him battle, the two houſes having, at the deſire of their general, diſpenſed with the attendance of Cromwell, who thus preſerved his command in the army, notwithſtanding the ſelf-denying ordinance. Charles being informed that Fairfax was ordered to beſiege Oxford, advanced towards Harborough, where he received intelligence that he had abandoned his deſign upon Oxford; and had been repulſed with great loſs in aſſaulting the caſtle of Borſtal. The king continued his march, in expectation of being joined by colonel Gerard with two thouſand men from Wales, as well as by Goring, at the head of three thouſand cavalry. This officer had wrote to him from Taunton,

A. C. 1645. Taunton, giving him hopes of reducing that place, and adviſing him to act upon the defenſive, until he ſhould join the army: but, the letter fell into the hands of Fairfax, who thus appriſed, reſolved to hazard an engagement before the junction could be effected. For this purpoſe he followed the royaliſts; and the king ſeeing it would be impoſſible to reach Leiceſter, without expoſing his rear to certain deſtruction, determined to meet him half way. He accordingly marched back; and, on the fourteenth day of June, came in ſight of the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle on a riſing-ground, in the neighbourhood of a village called Naſeby. Prince Rupert led the right wing of the royaliſts: the left was under the direction of Sir Marmaduke Langdale: lord Aſtley commanded the main body, conſiſting of all the infantry: and the king headed the body of reſerve. The cavalry on the enemy's right wing was commanded by Cromwell; the left by his ſon-in-law Ireton: while Fairfax and Skippon conducted the center. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing with his uſual impetuoſity and ſucceſs: they were broke and purſued as far as the village; but the prince in his return miſpent his time, in a fruitleſs attempt to ſeize their park of artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was furiouſly engaged with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whoſe horſe were broken after a very obſtinate diſpute. The infantry on both ſides maintained the conflict with equal valour for ſome time; but in ſpite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way, when Cromwell returned, and charged the king's infantry in flank, with ſuch vigour as they could not reſiſt; ſo that they were immediately routed and diſperſed. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king, and the ſmall body of reſerve; but his troops, though victorious, could not be

The king totally defeated at Naſeby.

*FAIRFAX.*

be brought to a second charge. They were at all times licentious and ungovernable: but here they were intimidated; for Fairfax, Skippon, and Cromwell, had by this time reduced their forces into order of battle, and stood ready either for attack or defence. The king would have charged them, at the head of his reserve, even before Rupert returned, had not he been prevented by an uncommon accident. The Scottish earl of Carnwath, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying with a loud oath, "Will you go upon your death in an "instant?" The troops seeing this motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in such confusion, that they could not be rallied during the whole action. The king perceiving the fortune of the day irretrievably lost, was obliged to abandon the victory to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above five thousand prisoners. Among other things that fell into their hands was a casket, containing his private letters to the queen, some of which the two houses printed and published, as proofs of his insincerity with regard to the treaty of Uxbridge. We have already observed, that neither side was sincerely disposed to peace at that juncture; but such an air of tenderness runs through this correspondence between Charles and his consort, as must impress every impartial reader with a very favourable idea of his conjugal affection. A. C. 1645. Clarendon. Rushworth.

After the battle, he and prince Rupert retired with the horse to Ashby de la Zouche, from whence they proceeded to Hereford, where they parted. The prince repaired to Bristol, to put that place in a posture of defence; while the king continued his route to Wales, in hope of being able to assemble an army in that exhausted country. Fairfax advanced to Leicester, which surrendered upon capitulation. Then he marched into the West, where he raised the siege of Taunton, and totally defeated

A. C. 1645. ed the lord Goring at Lamport. This victory was attended with the reduction of Bridgewater, Sherburn, and Bath; after which Fairfax undertook the siege of Bristol. That place was well supplied with men, provisions, and ammunition; and every body concluded, from the known valour of prince Rupert, that it would make a very vigorous defence. He even wrote to the king, that he should be able to hold out four months, unless a mutiny should compel him to surrender. Notwithstanding this promise, and the general expectation, he offered to capitulate at the first summons; and actually delivered up the place before the besiegers had begun to make their approaches. The unhappy monarch, in the first transports of his grief and resentment, ordered his nephew to quit the kingdom, and revoked all his commissions.

Prince Rupert surrenders Bristol.

Clarendon.

Fairfax having secured Bristol with a proper garrison, resumed his march to the western counties, ordering Cromwell to keep open the communication with London; and detaching colonel Rainsborough to besiege Berkeley-castle, which was the only place that remained in the king's possession between Gloucester and Bristol. Cromwell, in the course of this excursion, made himself master of the Devizes, the town and castle of Winchester, and several other places. Fairfax mean while reduced Tiverton, and blocked up the city of Exeter. Hearing that the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. had assembled an army in Cornwall, and was on his march to give him battle, he advanced with great expedition to meet his royal highness, who thought proper to retreat into Cornwall, after part of his cavalry under lord Wentworth had been surprised by the enemy. Then Fairfax took Dartmouth by assault, and returned to the blockade of Exeter. Lord Goring had by this time retired to France; and the prince of Wales bestowed

beſtowed the command of his army upon lord Hopton, who reſolved to relieve Exeter. General Fairfax being informed of his deſign, left the conduct of the blockade to Sir Hardreſs Waller, and marched towards Torrington, where Hopton lay intrenched. His troops endeavouring to diſlodge the parliamentarians from ſome of their poſts in the night, were inſenſibly drawn into an engagement, which became general, and laſted till morning. The intrenchments were forced; the infantry on the king's ſide were either killed, taken, or diſperſed; and lord Hopton retired with the cavalry into Cornwal. Thither he was followed by the victor; and the prince of Wales finding himſelf in danger of being taken, embarked on board of a veſſel, and was conveyed to the iſles of Scilly. Hopton continued ſtill to retire before the army of the parliament, over which he gained ſome petty advantages; but at length he was ſurrounded on all hands at Truro, and obliged to take the benefit of a capitulation. He ſtipulated that his troops ſhould be diſmiſſed, and allowed either to croſs the ſea or return to their own houſes. All their horſes and arms were delivered to Fairfax, who granted paſſports to thoſe who deſired to quit the kingdom, after they had ſworn that they would never ſerve againſt the parliament. This treaty being executed, the lords Hopton and Colepepper retired to Scilly; and Fairfax returned to the ſiege of Exeter, which ſurrendered in the month of April.

A. C. 1645.

Fairfax obtains a victory over lord Hopton at Torrington.

Ruſhworth.

In the courſe of this year, the Scottiſh army beſieged Carliſle, which ſurrendered on capitulation in the month of June. About the latter end of July, they inveſted Hereford; but abandoned this enterprize in the beginning of September. The earl of Leven publiſhed an apology for his miſcarriage, in which he complained that his men were not paid by the parliament; that the two houſes

Operations of the Scottiſh army in England.

A. C. 1645. had not performed their promiſe, of ſupplying him with artillery, and other implements of ſiege; and that he had been obliged to detach David Leſley with the greater part of his horſe and dragoons, to oppoſe the earl of Montroſe in Scotland. They retreated to Yorkſhire, where they received a ſupply of thirty thouſand pounds, and the two houſes ordained that the eaſtern aſſociated counties ſhould furniſh them with fourteen hundred pounds ſterling a week, on condition that they would undertake the ſiege of Newark, which they accordingly inveſted in the month of October.

During theſe tranſactions, the unfortunate king underwent a ſurpriſing ſeries of dangers, mortifications, and diſtreſſes, which he bore with uncommon fortitude and dignity. Far from being overwhelmed with deſpair, in conſequence of his defeat at Naſeby, he no ſooner underſtood that Fairfax had marched into the weſtern counties, than he advanced from Wales, at the head of his cavalry, amounting to three thouſand men, reduced the town of Huntington, viſited Oxford, where he received a ſmall reinforcement, and then took poſt at Cambden, at the time when Briſtol and Hereford were inveſted. The Scots raiſing the ſiege of this laſt place, he entered it with his little army, and there remained till the twentieth day of September. He was now reduced to ſuch a melancholy ſituation, that he ſaw no other proſpect of retrieving his affairs, than that of joining Montroſe in Scotland; and this expedient he actually embraced. Hearing that a ſtrong body of horſe and dragoons belonging to the enemy, was poſted, under the command of Pointz, between Hereford and Worceſter, he reſolved to take his route through North-Wales to Cheſter, and from thence paſs through Lancaſhire and Cumberland to Scotland. He found the enemy in poſſeſſion of the outworks

outworks and ſuburbs of Cheſter, which they had ſurpriſed. He detached Sir Marmaduke Langdale over Holt-bridge, in order to fall upon the back of the beſiegers early next morning, while he himſelf entered the city. Pointz, who had followed the king by haſty marches, appeared next day, and was charged by Sir Marmaduke, who compelled him to retire to a greater diſtance. The beſiegers no ſooner perceived him, than they began to evacuate the ſuburbs, in order to join his troops; and thus reinforced, he attacked the royaliſts in his turn. They were overpowered by numbers, and purſued to the walls of Cheſter. Then the earl of Litchfield and the lord Gerard, with the king's guards, and the reſt of the cavalry, advanced to the charge, and Pointz was obliged to retire: but his muſqueteers being drawn up among the narrow lanes and hedges, made ſuch a fire upon the royaliſts, that they were broken, routed, and diſperſed, after the gallant earl of Litchfield, and many other gentlemen of reputation, had loſt their lives in the engagement. A. C. 1645.

The king's horſe routed at Cheſter.

The king retreated with five hundred horſe to Denbigh-caſtle in North-Wales, and Pointz hung upon his rear. Being joined by prince Maurice with eight hundred horſe, and ſome other reinforcements, he croſſed the river Dee, gained a march upon the enemy, and arrived at Bridgenorth, where, receiving intelligence that Berkley-caſtle and the Devizes had ſurrendered to the parliamentarians, he, by the advice of his council, ſet out for Newark in Nottinghamſhire, where he had a garriſon of two thouſand horſe and foot. Though he had already been chagrined with an account of Montroſe's total defeat by David Lefley, who ſuddenly fell upon him before he had proper notice of his approach; it was now confidently reported,

A. C. 1645. ported, that the earl, ſtrengthened by a reinforcement, had attacked and worſted Leſley in his turn, and marched towards the border with a ſtrong army. This falſe intelligence gained ſuch credit with the king, that he advanced northwards as far as Rotheram, where he was undeceived. There he was certainly informed that Montroſe had retreated with his broken forces towards the Highlands; that David Leſley was maſter of all Lothian; and that the Scottiſh army lay between Northallerton and Newcaſtle. Inexpreſſible was the ſorrow and anxiety that this intelligence produced in the boſom of the king, who forthwith reſolved to return; but, in the mean time, he conſtituted lord Digby lieutenant-general of all the forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, on the other ſide of Trent; and ordered him and Sir Marmaduke Langdale to proceed with fifteen hundred horſe for Scotland, to join Montroſe. This new general began his expedition without delay. He diſperſed a thouſand foot, raiſed for the parliament, in the neighbourhood of Doncaſter; and at Sherbourne attacked colonel Copley, who commanded a body of cavalry. Digby was routed, and fled to Skipton, while his baggage fell into the hands of the enemy; and, among other things, a cabinet of papers, which were publiſhed by order of the two houſes. Notwithſtanding the check he had received, he proceeded through Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, as far as Dumfries in Scotland: but receiving no intelligence of Montroſe, and finding himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded by the covenanters, he embarked with Sir Marmaduke, and the Scottiſh earls of Carnwath and Niddeſdale, for the iſle of Man, from whence they were tranſported to Ireland.

He makes an effort to join Montroſe.

His

His majesty returning to Newark, prince Rupert appeared in his presence, desiring he might have an opportunity to justify his conduct. The king, who ever loved him with the most tender affection, complied with his request; admitted of his apology; and, by a declaration, absolved him of all suspicion of disloyalty. The well-affected gentlemen of that country being dissatisfied with the conduct of Sir Richard Willis governor of Newark, the king, who was determined upon removing to Oxford, told him he would appoint him captain of his horse-guards; so that he should always be in attendance upon his person; and that he would confer the government of Newark upon lord Bellasis. Sir Richard was extremely mortified at this intimation, and retired to consult with his friends. While his majesty sat at dinner, he entered the apartment, accompanied by prince Rupert and prince Maurice, lord Gerard, and about twenty officers of the garrison. He said his disgrace was now the public talk of the town. Prince Rupert affirmed, that Sir Richard Willis was no otherwise faulty than in being his friend. Lord Gerard exclaimed it was a plot of lord Digby, who was a traitor, and he would prove him to be so. The king, equally surprised and incensed at their intrusion, rose from the table in disorder, desiring Sir Richard Willis would follow him into his bed-chamber. He replied, that he had received a public injury, and expected a public satisfaction. The king could no longer contain his indignation. He assumed such an air of resentment and authority as he had never manifested before, and commanded them to be gone from his presence, with such dignity of displeasure as overwhelmed them with confusion and dismay. They had no sooner quitted the apartment, than he was visited by the lords and gentlemen in the town, who

A. C. 1645.

Is insulted by his officers at Newark.

A. C. 1645. comforted him with the moſt dutiful expreſſions, and profeſſed a very tender ſenſe of the inſolent uſage he had ſuſtained. Lord Bellaſis was immediately declared governor of the place, and began to perform the functions of his office. In the afternoon, the king received a petition, ſigned by the two princes and their adherents, deſiring that Sir Richard Willis might be tried by a court-martial; or, ſhould this be denied, that they and their friends might be furniſhed with paſſes. Theſe were immediately expedited; they next day retired to Wyverton, and then to Belvoir-caſtle; from whence they ſent one of their number to the parliament, for leave to quit the kingdom; yet they were afterwards pardoned and taken into favour.

Clarendon.

Nothing could be more forlorn and deſolate than the condition of Charles at this juncture. His faithful counſellors, and truſty friends, had either fallen in his cauſe, or been obliged to exile themſelves from their country. His conſort, the tender partner of his heart, had been obliged to fly for refuge to a foreign land. His eldeſt ſon now roamed a wretched fugitive among the barren rocks of Scilly; and the reſt of his children ran the riſque of falling into the hands of his inveterate enemies. His armies were either ſlaughtered or diſperſed; he was abandoned by his ungrateful nephews, whom he had always cheriſhed with parental affection; and now he found himſelf ſo encompaſſed by his adverſaries, under Pointz and Roſſiter, that it ſeemed impoſſible to eſcape, without the interpoſition of a miracle. In the midſt of theſe dangers, he ſtill preſerved an unclouded judgment, and unſhaken equanimity. He ſent a meſſenger to the governor of Oxford, with orders that the horſe of the garriſon ſhould be between Banbury and Daventry, at an appointed time. He departed from Newark on the third day of November,

Retreats to Oxford.

vember, at eleven o'clock at night, attended by five hundred horſe. At three in the morning they reached Belvoir-caſtle, where he found Sir Gervas Lucas, the governor, ready with guides to conduct him farther on his way. In paſſing near Burleigh, where the parliament had a garriſon, he was moleſted by their horſe, who killed and took ſome ſtragglers. Towards evening he was ſo fatigued, that he found it abſolutely neceſſary to take ſome repoſe in a village near Northampton At ten o'clock he continued his march, paſſed Daventry before day, reached Banbury about noon; and there he found the horſe, by whom he was ſafely conducted to Oxford, after having undergone ſuch a viciſſitude of misfortune, danger, and fatigue, as muſt have broken the ſpirit of any prince not endued with a very uncommon ſhare of magnanimity. A. C. 1645. Clarendon.

He had now leiſure to deliberate upon the means of his own preſervation; but no plauſible ſcheme occurred to his imagination. In this emergency he had again recourſe to the method of negotiation. He entertained ſome faint hopes of profiting by the diſſenſions between the preſbyterians and independents; and indeed he built too much on this miſunderſtanding. He demanded of the two houſes a ſafe-conduct for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, and ſome others, whom he intended to ſend with propoſals for an accommodation. Receiving no anſwer, he renewed his demand. In a third meſſage, he offered to treat with them in perſon, provided the parliament, the Scottiſh commiſſioners, the mayor of London, and the generals of their armies, would engage that he ſhould ſafely reſide among them for forty days, and return unmoleſted to Oxford, Worceſter, or Newark, in caſe the negotiation ſhould prove ineffectual: and, for their en- Propoſes a treaty to the two houſes.

A. C. 1645. couragement to treat, he declared himſelf ready to ſettle the militia in the hands of ſuch perſons as they ſhould recommend or approve for that purpoſe. The houſes, in anſwer to his firſt meſſage, refuſed a ſafe-conduct for his commiſſioners; but promiſed to draw out propoſitions and bills, which ſhould be preſented to his majeſty. To his propoſal of a perſonal treaty they made no anſwer. He complained of their ſilence in repeated meſſages. He offered liberty of conſcience to non-conformiſts. He propoſed, upon the diſmiſſion of the armies, to join the two houſes, to take meaſures for the payment of public debts, and for ſettling the affairs of the militia and of Ireland, to the ſatisfaction of all parties. The houſes rejected his propoſal, and upbraided him with having ſhed the blood of his ſubjects. He refuted their aſperſions, inſiſted upon the perſonal treaty, and made other conceſſions, which plainly indicated his ſincere deſire of peace. Conſidering his deplorable ſituation, they could not doubt his ſincerity: but nothing was farther from their thoughts than an accommodation with their ſovereign. Their leaders were determined upon a diſſolution of monarchy. They had reduced their king to extremity, and now they thought it was their turn to impoſe conditions. They taxed him with a deſign to make peace with the rebels in Ireland, and employ their troops againſt his parliament. If he had actually practiſed this expedient for his own preſervation, he would have been acquitted by all the unprejudiced part of the world. Perſecuted and hunted down by his own rebellious ſubjects, he had a natural right, after more pacific means had proved ineffectual, to call in an army of foreigners to his aſſiſtance, how much ſoever they might have differed from him in articles of faith. This has been the practice of all nations. How much

His propoſal rejected.

much more juſtifiable was he then, in ſecuring the aid of his own ſubjects, even tho' he gratified them for this ſervice with that liberty of conſcience which every human being has a right to enjoy? But Charles abſolutely denied the imputation of having impowered the earl of Glamorgan to conclude a treaty with the Iriſh rebels. He owned, indeed, he had commiſſioned that nobleman to raiſe and bring a body of Iriſh troops into England: nor did he deny that the marquis of Ormond had powers to finiſh by treaty a war which the parliament had neglected to maintain; as the proteſtants of Ireland were threatened with utter extirpation. Glamorgan exceeded his powers; and actually concluded a treaty in the king's name: but this was no ſooner known, than the earl was arreſted and impriſoned by the marquis of Ormond: and the king diſowned the tranſaction. A. C. 1645. Ruſhworth.

Such was the melancholy ſituation of Charles, when the court of France ſent over Montreuil, on pretence of mediating a peace between the king and the parliament, tho' his real intention was to effect a ſeparate accommodation between his majeſty and the Scottiſh army. His queen diſpatched Mr. Davenant at the ſame time, to perſuade him to declare for the preſbyterian party, which was eſpouſed by the city of London, in oppoſition to the independents. Montreuil found the Scottiſh commiſſioners at London very well diſpoſed to treat with his majeſty; but they inſiſted upon the abolition of epiſcopacy, as an indiſpenſable preliminary, with which the king, from conſcientious motives, conſtantly refuſed to comply. While the French miniſter made a journey to the Scottiſh army before Newark, in hope of finding ſome temperament, Fairfax advanced with his army towards Oxford; ſo that the king was in the moſt imminent danger of being ſurrounded. He had ordered

A. C. 1645. ordered the lord Aſtley to draw from the few garriſons ſtill in his poſſeſſion, ſuch a body of troops as might take the field early in the ſpring. He accordingly aſſembled about two thouſand, with which he advanced towards Oxford; but the parliamentarians, appriſed of his deſign, fell upon him in his march, when his troops were fainting with fatigue. After a very obſtinate diſpute, his forces were defeated and diſperſed, and he himſelf taken priſoner, together with Sir Charles Lucas, and many other officers.

Lord Aſtley defeated.

The king repairs to the Scottiſh army.

This was the laſt effort which the king made to defend himſelf by force of arms. He now ſaw no other poſſibility of eſcaping the rancour of his adverſaries, than that of throwing himſelf into the arms of the Scots, who, he hoped, would, from reſentment to the independent party, which they hated, and affection to their native prince, be prevailed upon to eſpouſe his cauſe, or at leaſt protect his perſon from the rage of his enemies. Such protection their chiefs had ſeverally promiſed, in conferences with Montreuil, though they refuſed to ſign any treaty or convention for that purpoſe; and this French agent adviſed the king to depend upon their ſincerity. Charles was beſet in ſuch a manner, that he had no time to heſitate; and he thought this was the leaſt deſperate courſe he could follow. Had any other reſource remained, he would hardly have thrown himſelf, without any other aſſurance, upon the mercy of thoſe who were his declared enemies, and acted as auxiliaries to the parliament of England. Early in the morning of the twenty-ſeventh day of April, he quitted Oxford in diſguiſe, attended by John Aſhburnham, and one Hudſon an eccleſiaſtic, who undertook to conduct him through bye-ways that were little frequented. He ſpent ſeveral days in travelling from one gentleman's houſe to another, where

A. C. 1646

he was not unknown, though no notice was taken of his perſon. He paſſed through St. Alban's, and even came within a few miles of London, as if he had intended to preſent himſelf before the parliament; then he took the road to the Scottiſh camp at Newark. His eſcape from Oxford was no ſooner known in London, than the two houſes iſſued an order, denouncing the pains of high-treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould ſhelter or protect their ſovereign. When he diſcovered himſelf to the earl of Leven, that general ſeemed exceedingly ſurpriſed and confounded at his preſence: nevertheleſs, he received him with all the marks of reſpect and veneration. A. C. 1646.

An expreſs was immediately diſpatched with an account of this important incident to the two houſes; in which it was immediately reſolved, that Fairfax, who had inveſted Oxford, ſhould relinquiſh that enterpriſe, and march directly to Newark: but this reſolution was poſtponed, when the Scottiſh commiſſioners declared that the king's coming was altogether unexpected by their generals, who would punctually obey the orders of the parliament. The Scots prevailed upon the king to order Bellaſis governor of Newark to ſurrender the place, which was accordingly delivered up; and hearing that Fairfax had made a motion towards the North, they forthwith retired with his majeſty to Newcaſtle. There he was excluded from all communication with Montreuil, and Aſhburnham was obliged to leave the kingdom, otherwiſe he would have been delivered up to the parliament. The * Scottiſh preachers inſulted him They march to Newcaſtle.

* One of their preachers upbraided him with his miſgovernment, and ordered this pſalm to be ſung by the congregation:

Why doſt thou, tyrant, boaſt thyſelf,
Thy wicked deeds to praiſe?

The king, ſtanding up, called for the pſalm beginning with theſe words:

Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
For men would me devour.

The audience accordingly ſung this pſalm in compaſſion to his majeſty in diſtreſs. Whitelock.

to

A. C. 1646. to his face from the pulpit; and the officers treated him with unremitting reserve and the most distant respect. They advised him to surrender all his garrisons to the parliament; and he complied with a good grace. Ormond received his order to deliver Dublin and other forts in Ireland to the officers appointed by the two houses; and Montrose, being commanded by his master to lay down his arms in Scotland, retired to the continent.

The two houses send propositions to the king.

The king sent a message to the two houses, desiring they would finish the affair of religion according to the advice of able theologists. He consented to their appointing commissioners for the militia, during seven years: he offered to concur with them in settling the affairs of Ireland; to dismiss his troops, and surrender the places that were still in his possession. He wrote to the city of London, that he was disposed to satisfy the two houses in every particular. He afterwards pressed the parliament to send propositions; and asked leave to come and treat with them in person. The Scots published a declaration, protesting that they would adhere to the covenant; and that they abhorred all secret practices tending to produce a misunderstanding between the two kingdoms. They presented a petition to the king, beseeching him to labour effectually in the great work of peace, to subscribe the covenant, regulate religion in conformity with the practice of the best protestant churches, and conduct himself according to the advice of his parliament. The general assembly of the kirk of Scotland wrote to the parliament of England, the city of London, and the ecclesiastical assembly, intreating them to forward the work of reformation according to the tenour of the covenant. The house of commons voted that there was no farther occasion for the Scottish army; and that the commissioners of that king-

kingdom ſhould be required to withdraw their forces from England. Then they ſent propoſals of peace to the king, more ſevere than thoſe upon which they had inſiſted at Uxbridge. They now arrogated to themſelves the whole power of the adminiſtration; and their deputies gave the king to underſtand, that they could not ſtay longer than ten days at Newcaſtle. He anſwered that, though he could not ſtrip himſelf of that which he inherited by birth and the laws of the realm, he would conſent to all juſt and reaſonable demands for the good of the commonwealth, without paying any regard to his own particular intereſt. The earl of Loudon, chancellor of Scotland, exhorted him to comply with the propoſals, deriving his arguments from the neceſſity of his majeſty's affairs; but in the article of epiſcopacy, the king was immoveable. A. C. 1646.

The deputies of Scotland preſented a memorial to the upper houſe, offering to withdraw their army from England, upon payment of their arrears. Commiſſioners were immediately appointed to examine their accounts. After various diſputes they agreed to take four hundred thouſand pounds in lieu of all their demands: and this is ſaid to have been the price for which they ſold their king to his enemies. That the delivery of this ill-fated prince to the two houſes was a private ſtipulation in the treaty, is ſcarce to be queſtioned: that it was criminal in the Scots, will admit of ſome doubt. Had they acted otherwiſe they muſt have deviated from all their former maxims, and engaged in a dangerous war againſt their own confederates, in behalf of a prince whom they had always conſidered as their implacable enemy. In protecting their king they muſt have betrayed their cauſe, proved falſe to their truſt, and ruined the work which they had raiſed with ſuch labour. Their averſion to the king

A. C. 1646. king was inſpired by the ſuggeſtions of reſentment, intereſt, and fanaticiſm; theſe are motives hardly to be reſiſted. Had they given way to the dictates of generoſity and compaſſion, they would have glorioufly atoned for the miſchiefs they had occaſioned: though ruined in the conteſt with the king's adverſaries, they would have nobly fallen, and their memory would have eſcaped that reproach by which it is now ſtigmatized. In the beginning of September, the duke of Hamilton had been removed to St. Michael's mount in Cornwal; and when it ſurrendered to the parliamentarians, he was releaſed. He now repaired from London to Newcaſtle with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, and importuned the king to cloſe with the propoſitions of the two houſes. His majeſty ſaid, all he deſired was a hearing, and that was denied. He did not abſolutely reject the propoſals, but wiſhed for an opportunity to explain his ſentiments. He propoſed that the hierarchy ſhould be confined to ſome particular dioceſes, ſuch as Oxford, Wincheſter, Briſtol, Bath, and Exeter; and that the preſbyterian diſcipline ſhould be eſtabliſhed in all other parts of the kingdom: he hoped the clergy would not preſs him to act againſt his conſcience until he ſhould be better informed.

He makes divers conceſſions in the article of religion.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners claim an equal intereſt with the Engliſh in the perſon of the king.

On the eighteenth day of September the two houſes appointed a committee to confer with the Scottiſh commiſſioners about diſpoſing of the king's perſon. The earl of Loudon alledged, that, each kingdom had an equal right to this diſpoſal, as he was equally ſovereign of both kingdoms; and as the intereſt of both nations was united by the covenant. The Engliſh committee replied, that they had the ſole right to diſpoſe of his perſon, becauſe he was then in England, and the Scottiſh army acted as auxiliaries to that nation. This point was debated in ſeveral conferences; and the Scots printed

printed a relation of what they had advanced to prove that Scotland and England were equally interested in the person of the king, and had an equal title to dispose of him and his affairs. The commons ordered the copies of this relation to be seized, and the printer was imprisoned. Then they published a long answer, which they sent to the Scottish commissioners, who refused to receive it, on pretence that it was not offered in the name of either house of parliament. On the sixteenth day of December, the parliament of Scotland resolved that their commissioners at London should demand of the two houses, in their name, that the king might return to London with honour and safety; and, at the same time, declare that the Scottish parliament was resolved to maintain the monarchy, in the person of the king, together with his just rights to the crown of England. Next day, however, a remonstrance was presented to them by the commissioners of the general assembly, representing the enormous sin of taking any step tending to produce a rupture between the two nations; and proposing that new efforts should be made for persuading the king to satisfy his subjects, that he might return to his parliament of England as a prince reconciled with his people. A. C. 1646.

After obstinate debates they resolved, that the king should be required to comply with the propositions which the houses at Westminster had sent to Newcastle; otherwise they would join their brethren in providing for the security of both kingdoms. The king sent another message to Westminster, soliciting leave to come and treat with them in person, declaring that his intention was to grant every thing that should be deemed necessary for the welfare of his people: he begged they would consider it was their king who craved an hearing; and that he himself would be looked upon

The Scots deliver the king to the English commissioners.

A. C. 1646. upon as a tyrant, ſhould he refuſe that favour to the meaneſt of his ſubjects. The two houſes voted, that his majeſty ſhould reſide at his houſe of Holmby, in the county of Northampton, and be treated with all due deference and reſpect: then they appointed commiſſioners to receive him from the hands of the Scots. The parliament of Scotland ſent up a declaration, conſenting to his reſiding at Holmby, or in any other of his houſes near London, provided no violence ſhould be offered to his perſon; that no new change ſhould be made in the government; and that his poſterity ſhould ſuffer no prejudice in their ſucceſſion to the throne of Ruſhworth. England. On the thirtieth day of January, the king was delivered by the Scots to the commiſſioners of the Engliſh parliament; and that very day the Scottiſh army began its march for their own Is conveyed to Holmby-caſtle. country. The king bore his fate with his uſual fortitude. In his journey to Holmby he found the roads crouded with multitudes of people, who came from all quarters to behold his deplorable reverſe of fortune. They expreſſed their pity and affection in tears, lamentations, and fervent prayers for his ſafety: and ſuch an opinion of his ſanctity then prevailed, that he was earneſtly ſolicited to touch a great number of perſons afflicted with the king's-evil.

Hitherto the preſbyterians and independents had acted in concert againſt their ſovereign: but now their mutual animoſity began to appear. Oliver Cromwell, who poſſeſſed indefatigable reſolution, unbounded ambition, and impenetrable diſſimulation, influenced the whole conduct of the independents. He gained a ſurpriſing aſcendency over the ſpirit of general Fairfax, and filled the army with officers devoted to his intereſt, ſuch as Rainſborough, Fleetwood, Lambert, and Harriſon. The majority of the members in parliament were preſbyterians, ſupported by the city of London: they

they dreaded the general officers, and wanted to disband the army. As it was neceſſary to ſend forces into Ireland, they formed a plan of enliſting private men for the ſervice, and tranſporting them to that kingdom under new officers in whom they could confide. Cromwell, knowing their deſign, oppoſed it with all his power; and found this taſk the more eaſy, as the earl of Eſſex died in the preceding year. He ſeemed to approve the ſcheme of the commons, feigned himſelf a rigid preſbyterian, talked in the language of ſcripture, and perſuaded Fairfax that he had nothing in view but the glory of God, and the eſtabliſhment of the true religion. At the ſame time he ſet his emiſſaries at work to excite a ſpirit of mutiny among the troops. The inferior officers had been ſo long accuſtomed to military licence, that they could not bear the proſpect of returning to their former occupations. A. C. 1647. Rupture between the parliament and the army.

The commons underſtood they had prepared a petition to their general, for the peruſal of the houſe, demanding an act of indemnity, the payment of their arrears, and an exemption from ſerving in Ireland againſt their own conſent. Two colonels, and two lieutenant-colonels, being examined at the bar of the houſe, touching the nature of the petition, were commanded to ſuppreſs it and all other ſuch addreſſes as might be drawn up for the future. At the ſame time the general was directed to give orders that a declaration ſhould be read at the head of each regiment, importing that the petition tended to excite diſcontents in the army; to impede the reduction of Ireland; and that the houſe would proceed againſt the authors of it as perturbators of the public peace. This expedient ſerved only to inflame the reſentment of the ſoldiers, who loudly complained, that after they had ſhed their blood in defence of the liberties of the nation, they were now, by the moſt inſupportable The ſoldiers refuſe to ſerve under the officers appointed by the parliament.

A. C. 1647. tyranny, debarred the privilege of preſenting a petition to their general: a right to which they were certainly intitled as free-born ſubjects of England. When the commiſſioners, appointed by the parliament, repaired to the army, and cauſed the votes to be read aloud for new-modelling the regiments, colonel Lambert, in the name of all the officers, demanded the act of indemnity, the payment of arrears, ſecurity for their ſubſiſtence while in Ireland, and the names of the generals under whom they ſhould ſerve in that kingdom. They exclaimed aloud, they were ready to march under Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skippon: ſome of the general officers preſented a declaration to the parliament, juſtifying their former petition, and inſiſting upon the ſame articles.

The commons voted that the army ſhould be diſbanded, and the ſoldiers receive ſix weeks pay at their diſmiſſion. Then Skippon produced a petition from ſeveral regiments, ſpecifying their reaſons for not ſerving in Ireland, and complaining of the ill treatment they had received from the parliament. The commons, alarmed at theſe marks of diſcontent, paſſed divers votes for giving ſatisfaction to the army; and ordered Cromwell, Skippon, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to ſignify their favourable intentions to the ſoldiery. It was on this occaſion, that the common ſoldiers elected agitators or deputies to diſcuſs their affairs, and communicate their reſolutions to a council compoſed of generals, field-officers, and captains. Theſe were the inſtruments by which Cromwell and his aſſociates managed the whole military machine. They were choſen from the private ſoldiers, or the loweſt claſs of officers, for their reputed knowledge, and their ſpiritual gift of preaching and prayer. The two houſes ſtill perſiſting in their reſolution to diſband all the troops, except thoſe deſtined for Ireland, or-

They chooſe agitators.

dained,

dained, that ſecurity ſhould be given to the troops for their arrears: That the ſoldiers ſhould not be compelled to ſerve in Ireland: and, That proviſion ſhould be made for the widows and orphans of thoſe maimed in the ſervice. Then they regulated the manner in which the regiments were to be diſbanded at different times and places. A. C. 1647.

When the general, in a council of war, produced the votes of the commons, the officers ſaid they did not believe the ſoldiers would be ſatisfied, becauſe they would neither receive their full pay, nor ſecurity for their arrears; and, without an act of amneſty, they might be proſecuted at law after their diſmiſſion. The ſoldiers themſelves, in a petition to the general, complained of theſe hardſhips, and deſired that the army ſhould be aſſembled in one place, where they might conſider of means to redreſs their grievances before they ſhould be diſbanded; otherwiſe they ſhould be obliged to take ſuch meaſures as might be prevented by a compliance with their demands. The general, with the advice of the council of war, immediately contracted his quarters; and, in a letter to the two houſes, begged they would concert meaſures for appeaſing the army, and preventing a very dangerous rupture. The parliament, intimidated by this intelligence, reſolved, if poſſible, to divide the forces. They offered a month's pay to thoſe who ſhould quit their regiments, and engage in the Iriſh expedition. For the ſatisfaction of the army, they voted, that the ſubaltern officers and ſoldiers ſhould receive the whole of their arrears, and a month's pay over and above: That the declaration of the two houſes againſt their petition, ſhould be erazed from the journal; and that an act of indemnity ſhould be paſſed in their favour. But all theſe conceſſions could not ſatisfy the army. The directors of it were reſolved, that it ſhould not be diſ- The two houſes make conceſſions to the army.

A. C. 1647. banded, but kept up as a balance to the presbyterian interest. It was, by this time, converted into a kind of republic, in which the vote of a common soldier was equivalent to that of his colonel; and every separate brigade thought they had a right to take resolutions, which were executed in the name of the army; so that very little discipline or subordination remained.

Rushworth.

The troops seize the king's person.

A few regiments of horse resolved to make themselves masters of the king's person. For the execution of this design they pitched upon cornet Joyce, who had been a taylor before the war. On the third day of June, this officer arrived with a detachment of fifty horse at Holmby, about break of day; and going up stairs, attended with three troopers, knocked at the door of the king's apartment. The door being opened, at his majesty's desire, Joyce and his companions, approaching him with their hats off, and pistols in their hands, told him he must go to the army. When the king asked by what authority he came on this expedition, the cornet answered, "By this;" pointing to his pistol, and desiring his majesty would put on his clothes, as dispatch was absolutely necessary. The king ordered one of his attendants to call the committee of the two houses, who had taken charge of his person. They were not a little surprised at the arrival of Joyce, and asked if he acted by order of the parliament: he answered in the negative, and held up his pistol. They said they would write to the parliament to know their pleasure: he replied, they might do so, but the king must go along with him immediately. Colonel Brown, having founded the guard which the parliament had set over the king, found them averse to any resistance; so that his majesty, having broken his fast, went into his coach, attended by a few domestics, and resigned himself to the will of Joyce, not without suspicion that

that he ſhould be carried to ſome unfrequented place, and murdered. He had, however, diſpatched the Scottiſh earl of Dumfermling with a letter to the two houſes, giving an account of this adventure; and deſiring they would not give credit to any thing he ſhould write under confinement. He lay the firſt night at the houſe of colonel Montague near Cambridge, and next day arrived at Newmarket, where he was treated with great reſpect by the officers of the army. The regiments, being aſſembled at this place, preſented a petition to the general, complaining of the parliament; and next day ſubſcribed a writing, which they termed "The engagement," conſenting to be disbanded, on condition that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, according to the determination of a council compoſed of the generals, together with two officers, and as many ſoldiers of every regiment: but declaring they would not ſeparate until they ſhould have received this ſatisfaction. On the ſeventh day of June, the general informed the two houſes of the king's being removed from Holmby by the ſoldiers, who had received no order from their officers for that purpoſe. He ſaid, he had ſent colonel Whaley with a detachment to meet the king, and reconduct him to Holmby; but that his majeſty had refuſed to return. He aſſured him, that neither he, nor any of his officers, had any ſhare in removing the king: that the ſole aim of the army was to eſtabliſh a firm and laſting peace: that they had no intention to oppoſe the presbyterian diſcipline, and ſet up independency: but they would leave every thing to the prudence of parliament, without pretending to eſpouſe any particular party. A. C. 1647.

The commons, in order to vindicate themſelves from the imputation of acting from intereſted motives, confirmed the ſelf-denying ordinance; vacated all employments poſſeſſed by members of The tyranny of the parliament.

A. C 1647. parliament; deprived all members of that perſonal privilege by which they had been ſcreened from their creditors; declared that all informations againſt members ſhould be heard on an appointed day; and, that no member ſhould be indemnified for his particular loſſes, until the public debts ſhould be diſcharged. Notwithſtanding theſe votes, the army advanced to St. Alban's, within twenty miles of London; and the general ſent a meſſage to the houſes, intreating them to take ſome ſpeedy meaſures for the ſatisfaction of the ſoldiery. Nothing could be more agreeable to the people in general, than this commencement of hoſtility againſt the parliament, which had exerciſed the moſt deſpotic tyranny over the nation. Thoſe clamorous demagogues, who had unſheathed the ſword againſt their ſovereign, on pretence of ſcreening the ſubject from oppreſſion, were now the authors of the moſt intolerable extortion. They had by the moſt arbitrary exaction levied above thirty millions in five years; and ſtill the public was loaded with enormous debts and incumbrances. They are ſaid to have divided three hundred thouſand pounds among their own members. Great ſums were ſecreted by their committees appointed to manage the different branches of the revenue. The exchequer was now aboliſhed, that thoſe managers might plunder the public without controul. An exciſe was extended over butchers meat, and all the common neceſſaries of life. One half of the lands and rents of the kingdom, belonging to the royaliſts, were ſequeſtred. Great numbers of theſe unhappy ſufferers were denied all redreſs. The reſt could obtain no remedy but that of paying exorbitant compoſitions, and ſubſcribing the covenant; ſo that many antient and honourable families were entirely ruined by thoſe upſtart plebeians. More than one half of the clergy were deprived of their livings, and reduced

to

to beggary, becauſe they would not renounce their civil and religious principles. The country committees continued to fine, impriſon, and corporally puniſh thoſe they ſtiled malignants, without law, juſtice, or reſtraint; in cauſes of private property, they took vengeance upon thoſe who favoured their ſovereign; and ſold their protection to the beſt bidder. They ſaid they were authorized to ſpoil the Egyptians: they termed their oppreſſive conduct, the dominion of the elect: they pretended to ſeek the Lord in prayer, and cloaked their iniquity with all the grimace of affected holineſs. A. C. 1647. Hume.

At the motion of the army, the parliament was overwhelmed with conſternation. They forthwith paſſed an ordinance, impowering the city of London to raiſe ſome cavalry, as if they intended to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. The general and the reſt of the officers wrote a letter to the mayor, complaining that certain members of parliament were deſirous of involving the nation in a new war, that they themſelves might eſcape the puniſhment they had ſo richly deſerved. They proteſted they had no deſign to intermeddle in affairs of government, or to injure the presbyterians, and the city of London, unleſs they ſhould attempt to protect thoſe incendiaries; they declared themſelves ready to withdraw to a greater diſtance, upon proper aſſurance that the government would be ſettled in an equitable manner; but ſhould the city take arms againſt the army, it would run the riſque of bringing abundance of miſchief on its own head. This letter being communicated to the parliament, they ſent an order to the general, that he ſhould not come within five and twenty miles of London. They ordered ten thouſand pounds to be paid to the ſoldiers who ſhould quit the army, and engage in the Iriſh expedition. Next day, being alarmed

They arm the trained-bands of London.

A.C. 1647. with a false report that the army approached London, they ordered the trained-bands to arms, on pain of death; but they soon recalled this order, though they continued to inlist soldiers. The city sent a soothing answer to the general's letter; and the parliament dispatched commissioners to the army to know their demands.

The army, conscious of its own strength, presented a remonstrance to the two houses, demanding, That the parliament should be purged of corrupted and unduly elected members: That those who had openly opposed the army, should be expelled, and rendered incapable of sitting as judges upon soldiers, even after the army should be disbanded: That some period should be fixed to this parliament: and, That for the future, parliaments should continue only for a certain time: That they should neither be dissolved nor adjourned, but with their own consent: That the subject should be confirmed in the right of presenting petitions: That the power of committees and lieutenants of counties shall be regulated and reduced to proper bounds: That the public accounts should be equitably settled: and, That after some acts of justice upon delinquents, an act of amnesty should be passed. The next bold step which they took, was to impeach eleven members of parliament, who were indeed the chiefs of the presbyterian party. They sent a deputation of officers to Westminster, to accuse Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, Waller, Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nichols. These members were charged with having obstructed the course of justice: with having raised suspicion against the officers, and endeavoured to sow sedition between the parliament and the army: with having formed a design to disband the army, to seduce the troops, and engage the officers in their mischievous machinations. Next day

Eleven members impeached by the army.

day they presented a memorial to the commons, desiring, that the accused members should be ordered to withdraw: That the army should receive a month's pay, and the same advantages granted to those who enlisted for the service of Ireland: and That, until the differences between the parliament and the army could be compromised, no levies should be carried on in London or elsewhere. A. C. 1647.

The army in these demands was countenanced by the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Hereford, and Buckingham. Glamorganshire sent deputies on purpose to complain, that the people were oppressed by the committees which the parliament had established in the different counties. The two houses were fain to comply with all the demands of the army; which being determined against accommodation, produced a new remonstrance, threatening to employ extraordinary means, unless they should receive immediate satisfaction with respect to the following articles: That the declaration inviting officers and soldiers to quit the army, should be revoked and annulled: That the king should remain with the army: That the accused members should be expelled: That the officers and soldiers who had abandoned the army, should be disbanded and dispersed: That the reduced officers should quit London: That levies should cease; and the parliament put an end to the difference subsisting between them and the army. After this remonstrance was delivered, the troops advanced as far as Uxbridge; and the king's friends began to hope that a rupture between the parliament and the army would redound to his majesty's advantage. The king himself was of that opinion. He was treated with all imaginable deference by the troops, among whom he found himself very much at his ease; and Cromwell, with his confederates, assured him they would restore him to his former dignity. The

The two houses obliged to comply with the demands of the troops.

two

A. C. 1647. two houſes were ſo ſtartled at this proſpect, that they reſolved to gratify the army with every ſort of conceſſion. The acccuſed members deſired leave to abſent themſelves from the houſe, and every other ſtep was taken for their ſatisfaction: ſo that, at length, the army ſeemed ſatisfied; and the head-quarters were fixed at Wickham.

The preſbyterians form an engagement againſt the army.

The presbyterians were diſguſted at this tame condeſcenſion of the parliament in favour of the independents. They engaged in an aſſociation with the magiſtrates of London, to oppoſe force with force. They ſent private agents into Scotland to ſolicit aſſiſtance. The common-council preſented a petition to the two houſes, complaining of the arbitrary power exerciſed by the committees; demanding they would take proper meaſures to repreſs the inſolence of the army, ſettle the government, re-eſtabliſh the king in the poſſeſſion of his juſt rights, according to the covenant, proſecute the war in Ireland with vigour, puniſh delinquents, and paſs an act of amneſty. Petitions were likewiſe delivered by the apprentices and populace, deſiring

Ruſhworth. that the presbyterian diſcipline might be eſtabliſhed on a ſure footing; that the inſolence of ſectaries might be repreſſed; and the army payed off and disbanded. Theſe commotions were countenanced by the accuſed members, and many others of that houſe, who would have riſqued a rupture with the army; but they were over-ruled by the caution of the majority. The army being informed of the tranſactions in London, and the meſſage ſent to Scotland, demanded, in another petition, that the parliament ſhould publiſh a declaration, prohibiting foreign troops to enter the kingdom; that the forces ſhould be regularly paid; and the militia of London ſettled on its antient footing. The houſes immediately complied with their requeſt. The rigid presbyterians, incenſed at this ſervile complaiſance,

plaiſance, joined with the common-council of London and a good number of members of parliament, in forming an engagement, by which they bound themſelves to aſſiſt one another in oppoſing the army, on the ſuppoſition that its intention was to overthrow every meaſure which had hitherto been taken towards eſtabliſhing the peace of the kingdom. They engaged to employ their lives and fortunes in defending the king's authority and perſon, the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the people. The two houſes publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, a prohibition to ſign this engagement. Nevertheleſs, the presbyterians in London held aſſemblies, and enliſted ſoldiers: the common-council received two petitions from the burghers and apprentices, deſiring that the militia might be regulated according to the ordinance of the fourth day of May, which had been lately aboliſhed by the two houſes. In conſequence of theſe remonſtrances, the common-council petitioned the parliament, that the laſt might be revoked, and the other confirmed. By the ordinance of May, the city of London had entruſted the militia to a new committee, compoſed of presbyterians; but this ordinance they afterwards recalled at the deſire of the army. A. C. 1647.

On the twenty-ſixth day of July, a great multitude of the populace aſſembled at Weſtminſter, with a petition, demanding, that the new ordinance touching the militia ſhould be revoked; that the declaration againſt the engagement ſhould be annulled; and an order immediately iſſued to recal the abſent members, particularly the eleven who had been accuſed. Theſe commotions were influenced by Sir William Waller, Pointz, and Maſſey, who had been removed from their employments by the new model, and now reſided in London. While the parliament deliberated upon thoſe demands, the populace were very clamorous Tumults at Weſtminſter.

A. C. 1647. in the halls adjoining to the two houſes. They knocked at the doors of the upper houſe, broke the windows with ſtones, and committed ſuch outrages as terrified the members into a compliance with their demands. They voted, That the laſt ordinance touching the militia, ſhould be annulled; and adjourned till next day: but the multitude compelled the ſpeaker and the members to reſume their places, and ordain, that the king ſhould return to London. The general ſent a letter to the common-council, expreſſing great affection for the city of London, and complaining of the violence which had been offered to the parliament. They returned a civil anſwer, excuſing what had been done, and deſiring he would not approach nearer to the city: but being informed that the army was on its march towards London, they ordered the militia to guard the lines; and all the inhabitants able to carry arms, to repair to the quarters aſſigned.

The ſpeakers of the two houſes retire to the army.

The parliament meeting after a ſhort adjournment, found that the ſpeakers of the two houſes, with a good number of members, had quitted London. They forthwith ſubſtituted other ſpeakers, and were not ſorry that the friends to the army had withdrawn themſelves. They voted, That the king ſhould return to London: That the committee of the London militia ſhould be authoriſed to raiſe troops for the defence of the city, as well as to chuſe a general acceptable to the parliament; and that he ſhould appoint the officers, with the approbation of the committee. The choice fell upon major-general Maſſey; and a day was appointed for delivering commiſſions, and diſpoſing the troops into regiments. The common-council received another menacing letter from the general; and, in their turn, publiſhed an apology, which was no other than a recrimination upon the army, for its inſolence and arbitrary proceedings. The parliament

underſtanding

understanding that the general approached London, on pretence of protecting them from violence, sent a letter to assure him they needed no protection; and as his march to London would be productive of mischief, they expressly ordered him to withdraw his troops to a greater distance. They recalled the absent and accused members; while Massey, Waller, and Pointz were employed in forming their regiments and companies. The two speakers, and the other members who had absented themselves, to the number of sixty-six, demanded the protection of the general, alledging that they had been obliged to quit the houses for fear of being torn to pieces by the populace. The army was glad of this pretext for marching to London, in order to restore the members, to whom they had paid the respect that was due to the parliament; and continued their route for Hounslow-heath, which was the place of rendezvous. The earl of Manchester and Lenthal, speakers of the two houses, together with the other members who had retired to the army, were presbyterians in their hearts; but they foresaw the army would at length prevail, and they took this method to save themselves from destruction. A.C. 1647.

The army now published a manifesto, acquitting themselves of the imputations laid to their charge, recapitulating the arbitrary measures of the presbyterian faction; declaring they would support the two speakers, who had fled to their protection, and punish the authors of these disorders. The courage of the citizens vanished, when they understood that the army had advanced to Hounslow. The common-council wrote a letter to the general, importing, That, as it appeared from his declaration, he had no other design than to do justice to the absent members, the city was ready to concur with him; that they had ordered all the avenues to be opened, and

Fairfax arrives at London.

A. C. 1647. and put an end to their preparations of defence. On the ſixth day of Auguſt, Fairfax, accompanied by the ſpeakers, and the members who had abſented themſelves, arrived in Weſtminſter with an eſcorte of dragoons; and the members forthwith reſumed their places in parliament. The two houſes immediately concurred in voting, that the general ſhould be conſtituted governor of the Tower. They appointed a day of thankſgiving for the re-eſtabliſhment of the parliament, without bloodſhed; and they ordained that the army ſhould receive a month's pay as a gratuity. The lords propoſed that all the tranſactions of parliament, from the twenty-ſixth day of July to the ſixth of Auguſt, ſhould be annulled: and that the members who had ſat at Weſtminſter during the abſence of the two ſpeakers, ſhould be excluded from their ſeats in parliament, and puniſhed for their preſumption. The army had, in a remonſtrance, made the ſame demands; but after violent debates in the lower houſe, they were rejected by a very ſmall majority. Nevertheleſs, ſeven peers, the mayor and aldermen of London, together with ſome officers of militia, were accuſed of treaſon, for having been concerned in tumults, and endeavouring to excite a new war. The two houſes reſolved, with the concurrence of the army, to ſend ſix thouſand foot ſoldiers, four thouſand horſe, and five hundred dragoons, to Ireland; to maintain ſix and twenty thouſand men in England, and disband the reſt of the forces. But theſe reſolutions were executed ſlowly, and each ſide endeavoured to amuſe the other. Tho' the army had at firſt pretended to nothing but the care of their own concerns, they now profeſſed to ſettle the commonwealth; and before their march towards London, preſented to the commiſſioners of the parliament, a ſet of propoſals ſeemingly for this purpoſe, though they were calculated

Ruſhworth.

culated for retarding the settlement, which the authors of them professed to forward and promote. A.C. 1647.

The king still continued in the neighbourhood of the army, by which he was treated with the most flattering marks of distinction. His chaplains were permitted to attend him, and celebrate service according to the forms of the English church. He was permitted to converse with his old servants, Sir John Berkeley and Ashburnham attended his person; and even the marquis of Ormond had free access to his presence: but the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed, was the company of his own children, with whom he had several interviews, which were so tender, that they seemed to melt the heart of Oliver Cromwell, who declared, he had never seen such a pathetic scene as the meeting of this fond parent with his infant offspring, and extolled the king for the benevolence of his disposition. He was visited by the Scottish commissioners, who expressed the most eager desire to serve him, thinking it was their real interest to unite with their sovereign against the independents, who were their common enemies. Cromwell and his associates caressed his majesty, in order to prevent this union, and assured him they would not lay down their arms, until he should be restored to his former dignity. Charles detested the presbyterians, as the inveterate enemies of the hierarchy, and the authors of all the troubles to which he and the kingdom had been exposed: but he prudently maintained a correspondence with both sides, in hope of being chosen as umpire to decide their difference; or at least of holding the balance between them, so as to make either scale preponderate. He had too great an opinion of his own importance. Cromwell, Ireton, and the other chiefs of the independent

The king at first caressed by Cromwell and his associates.

A. C. 1647. dent faction, amuſed him with vain hopes, until they had obtained a complete victory over the preſbyterians and the city. Then they abated in their expreſſions of reſpect; he was more ſtrictly guarded; they would hardly allow his domeſtics to converſe with him in private; he remained at Hampton-court, without receiving any further propoſals of accommodation; and ſpies were employed to mark all his words and actions. He now perceived he had been the dupe of Cromwell, and began to be apprehenſive of miſchievous deſigns upon his perſon. The army preſented him in private with propoſals of peace, much more ſevere than thoſe which had been offered to him at Newcaſtle; and, becauſe he rejected them, the officers were offended. Cromwell bitterly reproached Aſhburnham, the king's chief confident, for having aſſiſted his majeſty in treating with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, in order to engage that nation to act againſt the army. Major Huntington, whom Cromwell had employed in conveying ſecret meſſages to the king, gave his majeſty to underſtand, that his employer would ruin him, if not prevented. He forthwith reſigned his commiſſion, and even offered to diſcover Cromwell's ſiniſter practices to the parliament; but he was refuſed a hearing.

He eſcapes from Hampton-court.

Finally, the king being warned from different quarters, and by various channels, of the deſigns that were harboured againſt his life, reſolved to withdraw himſelf from the army. Early in the evening, he retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indiſpoſed; and, in an hour after midnight, went down the back-ſtairs, attended with Aſhburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of the bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horſes, which they inſtantly mounted, and

and directed their route towards Hampshire. Ashburnham said he had bespoke a ship for conveying the king to some part of the continent, or to Jersey: but the vessel could not be found at the place appointed. The royal fugitive, thus disappointed, repaired to Tichfield, a seat belonging to the earl of Southampton, and discovered himself to that nobleman's mother, who received him with the warmest cordiality. There he deliberated with his friends about his next excursion; and they advised him to cross over to the isle of Wight, which was under the government of colonel Hammond, who enjoyed a great share of Cromwell's confidence. Ashburnham and Berkeley were sent before, to exact a promise of this officer, that if he could not protect, he would not detain his majesty's person. Hammond seemed surprised at their address; expressed his inclination to serve his majesty, but owned, at the same time, he was under the necessity of obeying his superiors. When he understood where the king was, he accompanied them to Titchfield with a guard of soldiers, and staid in a lower apartment while Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. Charles no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house, than he exclaimed, "O "Jack! thou hast undone me!" The other shed a flood of tears, and offered to go down and dispatch the colonel: but the king would not consent to such an expedient. He recollected all his fortitude; and sent for Hammond, who repeated his professions of regard, and seemed to believe the army would take no step to his prejudice. Charles submitted to his fate, accompanied the colonel to the isle of Wight, and was lodged at Carisbrook-castle, where at first he found himself treated with marks of duty and respect. Though Ashburnham's conduct, on this occasion, has the air of treachery,

A. C. 1647.

Clarendon.

And is conveyed to Carisbrook-castle in the isle of Wight.

A.C. 1647. the king acquitted him of any treasonable intention; and, in all probability, he was outwitted by the emissaries of Cromwell and Ireton, who found some method to persuade him that the king's person would be safer in the isle of Wight than with the army. If that was the case, he concealed his design from the king, who perhaps would have disapproved of the scheme, and amused him with the hope of a vessel which he had never intended to provide. If he was free of disloyalty, he was certainly guilty of the most unwarrantable presumption and temerity.

He leaves a letter addressed to both houses.

The parliament was informed of the king's escape by Cromwell, who transmitted to them a letter, left by his majesty on the table, addressed to both houses. He complained of the rigorous captivity he had undergone, among people who were continually fluctuating in their principles; who were not ashamed to declare a design of destroying the nobility, by depriving the peers of their negative voice in parliament; and who favoured and encouraged the principles of the levellers. He said his intention was to conceal himself for some time, even from the knowledge of his friends; nevertheless, he earnestly wished for peace; and declared, he would contribute all that lay in his power, for the satisfaction of all parties. Lastly, he desired to be heard with honour and safety, in which case he would quit his retreat, and appear in public. On the fifteenth day of November, the earl of Manchester, speaker of the upper house, received a letter from colonel Hammond, informing their lordships, that the king had come to the isle of Wight, and put himself under his protection.

The levellers are quelled by Cromwell.

Cromwell now began to be disturbed by a sect of his own raising. He and his associates had indulged the soldiers to such a degree of licence, that he found it extremely difficult to reduce them to any sort

sort of subordination. When the differences between the parliament and the army were compromised, the generals had no further occasion for the concurrence of the common soldiers: their councils were suppressed, and the agitators remanded to their respective regiments. They refused to obey these orders; the councils and conferences were continued; they claimed an equal share with their generals, in regulating the government; they pretended to abolish all distinctions, and thence acquired the appellation of levellers. These principles would have produced division and anarchy among the troops, and entirely destroyed the authority of the generals, had not they been nipped in the bud by the conduct and resolution of Cromwell. He repaired to a meeting of those levellers, with a guard of chosen men, and began to expostulate with them upon the dangerous consequences of their stubborn and precipitate conduct. Finding them deaf to his remonstrances, he fell upon them all of a sudden, routed and dispersed the whole body, ordered some of the prisoners to be hanged upon the spot, and sent the rest to London. By acting with the same vigour and intrepidity on several other occasions, he broke the mutinous spirit of this dangerous sect, and reduced the army to submission. A. C. 1647.

The king being disappointed in his hope of escaping, sent a message to the two houses, accompanied with proposals for an accommodation. Though his conscience would not permit him to give up the order of bishops, he was contented that the presbyterian discipline, at present established, should continue during three years, on condition that he, and others of the English church, should be permitted to use their own rites, without incurring any penalty; that the ecclesiastical assembly at Westminster should consult and deliberate with

The king sends proposals for an accommodation, to the parliament.

A. C. 1647. twenty theologicians of his nominating, upon the ſubject of religion, that he and the two houſes might fix upon a form of church-government, according to the word of God; and that all perſons ſhould enjoy liberty of conſcience, without prejudice to the laws enacted againſt popiſh recuſants, atheiſts, and unbelievers. He ſaid he would conſent to an act of parliament, veſting the power of the militia in the two houſes, during his whole reign, provided that it ſhould be afterwards reunited with the crown, as in the reigns of Elizabeth and James; and he propoſed that, during his whole reign, all the great officers of ſtate, and privy-counſellors, ſhould be nominated by the two houſes. He offered to aboliſh the court of wards and liveries, and to paſs an act of oblivion; and he demanded permiſſion to treat in perſon, with honour, liberty, and ſafety. When the king quitted Hampton-court, the two houſes had prepared a ſet of propoſitions for his majeſty; but they were not ſent, becauſe the Scottiſh commiſſioners raiſed continual obſtacles, complaining that theſe propoſals did not ſufficiently provide for the intereſt of their country. The Scots at that time hoped to conclude a ſeparate peace with him upon their own terms; but they inſiſted upon the abolition of epiſcopacy; and this was a demand with which he would not comply.

The two houſes reſolve to treat with his majeſty.

At length the two houſes reſolved to treat with the king, provided he would give his aſſent to four preliminary acts, for eſtabliſhing the militia; recalling all the declarations publiſhed againſt the parliament and their adherents; depriving peers created ſince the troubles of their right to ſit in parliament; and impowering the two houſes to adjourn at their own pleaſure. Theſe bills were prepared with ſuch diſpatch, that the independents had not time to ſtart objections; and the Scottiſh com-

commissioners in vain attempted to throw obstacles in their way. The parliament was now resolved to break the measures of the independents; and, on the sixth day of November, received another message from the king, demanding a personal treaty. The commissioners from Scotland presented a long memorial to parliament, complaining that the two houses violated the covenant, in seeking to treat of peace without their concurrence; and objecting to the proposals that were prepared. The houses answered this memorial in very acrimonious terms, and ordered the printer to be imprisoned. Then they appointed a committee to present the bills to his majesty. A. C. 1647.

The Scottish commissioners at the same time repaired to the isle of Wight, with the articles of a treaty drawn up in form. Charles prudently refused to pass the four bills, without any security for the success of the treaty; because he justly feared, that after having granted these concessions, he should find the two houses as implacable as before. He was better pleased with the conditions offered by the Scots. The duke of Hamilton had made a tender of his services, which was very agreeable to his majesty. The marquis of Ormond had communicated to him a scheme of joining the lord Inchequin in Ireland, and raising forces for his service in that kingdom. The Scots undertook to assemble an army in his behalf; and he imagined that the union of his friends with the presbyterians of both kingdoms, would be able to crush the power of the independents. Influenced by these considerations, he concluded a secret treaty with the Scottish commissioners, in which he promised to confirm the covenant in England and Scotland, together with the presbyterian government, for three years, during which the affairs of religion

Charles concludes a private treaty with the Scottish commissioners.

A. C. 1647. ſhould be ſettled by an aſſembly of theologiſts and eccleſiaſtics of both kingdoms. They engaged that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould defend the rights of his crown againſt all opponents; for which purpoſe it ſhould ſend an army into England, to re-eſtabliſh him upon the throne, effect an union of the two nations, and procure a ſolid peace. The commiſſioners ſtipulated ſeveral other advantages for their country, and returned very well pleaſed with the ſucceſs of their negotiation.

The two houſes vote that no addreſſes ſhall be ſent to the king.

The king had no ſooner diſmiſſed the committee of parliament with a refuſal, than the governor ordered all his domeſtics to quit the caſtle, and confined him ſo cloſely that no perſon could ſpeak to him without having firſt obtained permiſſion. An officer of the name of Burley reſiding in the iſle of Wight, was fired with indignation at the unworthy treatment to which his ſovereign was expoſed; and endeavoured to engage ſome people in a deſign to reſcue the king from the hands of his enemies; but, before he could put his ſcheme in execution, he was apprehended, condemned, and put to death. When the king's anſwer was reported in the houſe of commons, ſeveral members ſpoke with great virulence againſt his perſon; and in particular Oliver Cromwell, who called him a man of blood, and a double-dealer. He adviſed them to ſend no further addreſſes to the king, but to regulate the affairs of the nation without his concurrence. His propoſal was ſupported by his aſſociates; and, after violent debates, the houſe

Ruſhworth. reſolved, that for the future no addreſſes or meſſages ſhould be ſent to the king. They publiſhed a declaration on the ſubject, containing all the bitterneſs and malice of the famous remonſtrance on the ſtate of the kingdom, together with additional reproaches upon the king's ſubſequent

quent conduct. This ſtep, however, was not taken without great oppoſition in the houſe of commons, where there was ſtill a majority of preſbyterians, though they were intimidated by Cromwell, and over-awed by the neighbourhood of the army. A. C. 1647.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners, before they returned to their own country, concerted meaſures with the marquis of Ormond, the other friends of the king of England, and the leading men among the preſbyterians. They agreed that the marquis ſhould join Inchequin, who commanded the parliament's troops in Munſter, and had declared for his ſovereign: beſides, ſome chiefs of the rebels, diſguſted at the tyranny exerciſed by the pope's nuncio in Ireland, had promiſed to reinforce Ormond with a conſiderable body of forces. The cavaliers undertook to raiſe inſurrections in different counties of England; and the officers, excluded from the army by the new model, engaged in the ſame deſign. Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Muſgrave, who had great influence in the North, reſolved to ſecure Berwick and Carliſle; and the presbyterian party in London, and in the houſe of commons, began to make preparations for appearing openly againſt the parliament. Had this ſcheme been duly digeſted, and all the parts of it executed at the ſame time, Cromwell would have had occaſion for all his talents, to preſerve the footing he had gained; but, as they did not concur in one connected plan, acted at different times, without unanimity and proper preparation, the army found no difficulty in quelling one party before another declared itſelf, until all oppoſition was ſubdued. Plan of operations in favour of his majeſty.

The parliament of Scotland aſſembled on the tenth day of March, notwithſtanding the intrigues of the marquis of Argyle, who, though a rigid presbyterian in religion, was an independent in politics, and had engaged in an intimacy of friend- The Scots aſſemble an army under the duke Hamilt

A. C. 1647. ſhip with Vane and Cromwell. The moderate presbyterians were headed by the duke of Hamilton, his brother the earl of Lanerk, and lord Loudon. Their intereſt predominated on this occaſion; and the duke was choſen preſident of the committee of danger, appointed to provide for the ſafety of the kingdom. Argyle, finding his party out-numbered in parliament, had recourſe to the general aſſembly, which had almoſt turned the ſcale in his favour. The committee, having examined the ſtate of the kingdom, found it in great danger, and declared it would be neceſſary to raiſe an army of forty thouſand men, to put it in a proper poſture of defence. The commiſſioners of the aſſembly oppoſed this expedient with great violence and obſtinacy. They preſented a great number of demands to parliament, inſiſting upon the danger and iniquity of engaging in a war without provocation. Eighteen lords and forty members of parliament ſolemnly proteſted againſt the vote for levying an army. The marquis of Argyle, and his adherents, affirmed, that the intention of the committee was to ſupport the king's partiſans, the mortal enemies of the Scots, and all of the presbyterians in both kingdoms; that Edinburgh already ſwarmed with cavaliers, ſuch as Langdale, Muſgrave, Glenham, Fleming, and others, who hated the covenanters with the moſt inveterate rancour; and that a junction with the king's party, compoſed of papiſts, epiſcopals, and other malignants, was a manifeſt violation of the covenant. Theſe repreſentations, joined to the efforts of certain envoys, ſent thither by the independents of England, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the people, that the parliament could not help iſſuing an ordinance, excluding from their army and protection all perſons who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe the covenant. The duke of Hamilton, who was declared general, found himſelf obliged

liged to dismiss the cavaliers, assuring them that he would elude this order as soon as he should have entered England. In a word, he met with continual obstacles, which retarded his levies. Instead of forty, he could hardly assemble fourteen thousand men, and these ill-armed and undisciplined; and his army was not in a condition to march till the beginning of July. A. C. 1647.

During these preparations, Langhorn, Powel, and Poyer, three colonels who had served in the parliament's army, declared for the king, secured the castle of Pembroke, and influenced the greatest part of South-Wales to espouse the royal cause; while lord Byron endeavoured in North-Wales and Cheshire to raise an insurrection in favour of his sovereign; and the people of Kent took arms, under the command of one Mr. Hales, a young gentleman of great fortune, but small experience or capacity. General Fairfax sent Cromwell with a detachment to reduce the Welsh and oppose the Scots, should they invade the kingdom; while he himself continued at London to prevent disturbances in that city, and observe the motions of the Kentish insurgents. These were increased to a great number; and lord Goring, now earl of Norwich, and Sir William Waller headed them, in expectation that London would declare for them, should they approach that city. With this hope they advanced to Blackheath; and Fairfax immediately took the field. Then they retired, some to Rochester, and others to Maidstone; which last place the general took by assault, where a great number of the enemy was killed and taken prisoners. The rest abandoned Rochester, and took post on Hounslow-heath, in hope of being succoured by the city of London; but, being disappointed in this hope, they dispersed at the approach of the army. The

Insurrection in Kent and Essex in behalf of the king.

A.C. 1647. earl of Norwich croſſed the Thames at Graveſend in boats, with about five hundred men, in order to join the king's friends in Eſſex. Theſe were aſſembled, to the number of three thouſand, under lord Capel, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, Sir Barnard Gaſcoign, and colonel Farr, which laſt had been in the ſervice of the parliament. They took poſſeſſion of Colcheſter, where they propoſed to remain until they could join the Scottiſh army, which they heard was already upon its march. They were ſoon inveſted by Fairfax, who, ſeeing the place almoſt deſtitute of defences, attempted to enter by force, but was repulſed with ſuch loſs, that being unwilling to hazard another aſſault, he reſolved to reduce it by famine, aud formed the blockade ſo cloſe as to prevent the beſieged from receiving the leaſt ſuccour, or reinforcement.

During theſe tranſactions there had been a commotion in London among the populace who favoured the king. They defeated a troop of the militia, ſecured two of the city-gates, compelled the mayor to take refuge in the Tower, advanced to Whitehall, exclaiming, "For God and the king;" and were at laſt diſperſed by two regiments of cavalry. The king's ſecond ſon, the duke of York found means to eſcape from St. James's, where he had been kept under the eye of the earl of Northumberland, and retired to Holland, where he was cordially received by his ſiſter the princeſs of Orange. Langdale and Muſgrave ſurpriſed Berwick and Carliſle; and, in a little time, found themſelves at the head of four thouſand royaliſts; ſo that they were in a condition to go in queſt of general Lambert, who commanded in thoſe parts for the parliament: but, by an expreſs order from Edinburgh, they were forbid to hazard any action until

until the Scottish army should have entered England. In the latter end of May, the sailors of a squadron, lying in the Downs, revolted against their commander Rainsborough, whom they set ashore, together with some other officers disaffected to the royal cause. Being supplied with provision by the king's friends in Kent, they steered their squadron to the Brill, and delivered it to the duke of York, whom the king had appointed high-admiral of England. The prince of Wales, who had retired to Paris, where he resided with his mother, was no sooner informed of this lucky incident, than he repaired to Helvoetsluys; and, going on board of the fleet, was received with loud acclamations. He sent his brother to the Hague, and set sail for England, in order to join and head the Scottish army, when it should enter that kingdom. When he arrived at Yarmouth, the inhabitants refused him admittance; then he directed his course to the river Thames, and took several rich vessels belonging to the Londoners, which were afterwards restored. Mean while, the earl of Warwick assembled a squadron, with which he sailed in quest of the prince; and anchored his ships so near him in the river, that an engagement was thought unavoidable. The prince of Wales was eager for battle, and had actually weighed, in order to attack the earl; but, the wind failing, and afterwards blowing full in his teeth, he could not execute his resolution. Warwick was reinforced with some fresh ships; and the royal fleet being in want of provision, young Charles was persuaded to return to Helvoetsluys, whither he was followed by the enemy. In the beginning of June the royalists surprised the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, which they secured with a good garrison: and about the same time, Scarborough revolted from the parliament.

A. C. 1647.

Part of the fleet declares for the prince of Wales.

Clarendon. Rushworth.

At

A. C. 1647. The earl of Holland, with the duke of Buckingham, &c. take the field for the king.

At this juncture, the earl of Holland, who had changed sides so often, formed a design in favour of his majesty. The Scottish army was ready to march; Cromwell was employed in the siege of Pembroke-castle; Fairfax engaged in the blockade of Colchester, while not above two regiments remained in London; and the presbyterian party had regained its influence in parliament. The earl of Holland, thinking there could not be a more favourable opportunity for executing the scheme he had projected, set out from London publicly, attended by about an hundred horsemen, and was joined at Kingston upon Thames by the duke of Buckingham, his brother lord Francis Villiers, and the earl of Peterborough, with some forces. They forthwith sent a letter to the mayor and common-council of the city, declaring their intention of joining the troops of Surry, Sussex, and Middlesex, in order to deliver the king, and establish the peace of the nation; and desiring the assistance of London, as their sole aim was peace and the welfare of the kingdom, according to the covenant. The magistrates of the city, having very little confidence in the earl and his confederates, sent the letter to the parliament, by which the three noblemen were instantly declared traitors to their country. That same day their horse were attacked by colonel Lewesy, who routed them in the neighbourhood of Kingston; and lord Francis Villiers was slain in the engagement: but, in the night, the leaders abandoned the place, and retired with about four hundred men to St. Alban's. They were afterwards surprised at St. Neot's by colonel Scroop, who took the earl of Holland, and conducted him to London, from whence he was removed to the castle of Warwick: the other two noblemen escaped, and the whole project miscarried. On the eleventh day of July, the duke of Hamilton entered

He is routed and taken.

tered England at the head of the Scottiſh army; and Cromwell having reduced the caſtle of Pembroke, began his march to join Lambert, who commanded for the parliament in the northern counties. A. C. 1647.

Had the duke of Hamilton advanced immediately into the heart of the kingdom, before the ſeparate bodies of the Engliſh army could join together, in all probability he would have effected the reſtoration of his ſovereign. The city of London would have ſhut its gates againſt Fairfax; and the royaliſts would have taken up arms in ſo many different parts of the kingdom, that the independents muſt have been divided, diſtracted, and overpowered: but the duke and his army ſeemed to act upon different principles. He deſired to reſtore the king without conditions. The presbyterians, of whom his troops were compoſed, inſiſted upon the treaty which their commiſſioners had concluded with his majeſty. They refuſed to march with the royaliſts, becauſe they ſcrupled to take the covenant; they ſuſpected their general of having a warm ſide to epiſcopacy; therefore thwarted his meaſures, and retarded his motions. He removed the Engliſh garriſon from Carliſle, in which he left a body of his own countrymen. He was joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with four thouſand foot and ſeven hundred horſe; but this officer was obliged to march always at a diſtance from the Scots, to elude the order of their parliament, which had expreſly forbid Hamilton to act in concert with thoſe Engliſh who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe the covenant. Lambert retired at their approach with ſuch precipitation, that he muſt have been entirely defeated had the duke purſued him in his retreat; but that nobleman, inſtead of taking the advantage of his diſorder, loitered away ſeveral days at Carliſle, then marched to Kendal in Weſtmore-

The duke of Hamilton enters England.

land,

A. C. 1647 land, where he remained until he could no longer find subsistence for his army. For this reason he advanced with part of his forces into Lancashire, and fixed his head quarters at Preston.

He is defeated, and taken by Cromwell, who marches into Scotland.

Cromwell, having joined Lambert in Yorkshire, resolved to seek the enemy, though his troops did not amount to nine thousand; and these were almost exhausted with fatigue. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whose division composed the duke's vanguard, sent notice that Cromwell was at hand; and advised his grace to contract the quarters, which were scattered at great distances from each other. The duke persuaded himself that it was no more than a detachment from Cromwell's army, and neglected the salutary advice of the English officer, who was attacked by the enemy's horse; and, after a very obstinate dispute, driven back to Preston. The duke ordered him to advance again, and promised that he should be sustained; but he did not perform his promise, and Langdale was entirely routed, on the sixteenth day of August. Then Cromwell's cavalry marched to Preston, which they found in the utmost confusion, and took, after a smart engagement. The duke retired to the other side of the bridge, at which he posted a strong guard, that defended it obstinately for some time; but, at length, they were obliged to abandon it to the victors. The fugitives were, next day and the following, pursued to Warrington; after having made a stand, and defended a defile for several hours: there Bailey, who commanded them, surrendered with his men prisoners of war. The duke fled, with about three thousand horse, to Utoxeter; but Lambert being close at his heels, he and all his officers fell into the hands of the enemy: while the broken cavaliers escaped to Cumberland, where they joined major-general Monro. This officer had followed the duke of Hamilton with a reinforcement

forcement of horſe and foot, and now retreated to his own country, without paying any regard to the remonſtrances of the king's friends, who ſolicited him to join them, and make a ſtand againſt the enemy. Cromwell, marching to the border, ſent a letter to the committee of the Scottiſh parliament, demanding that they would recal Monro, and deliver up Berwick, otherwiſe he would carry the war into their country. The face of affairs was now entirely changed in Scotland: Argyle's intereſt predominated, and he aſſembled a body of troops to oppoſe Monro, who had been, at his return, joined by the earl of Lanerk. They ſeized Stirling, and hampered the marquis: but all their meaſures were broken by Cromwell, who advanced to Edinburgh. The committee of danger abandoned that place, and the earl of Lanerk and Monro conſented to an accommodation. Cromwell was received at Edinburgh with great ſolemnity, by means of Argyle, with whom he cultivated an intimacy of friendſhip. Berwick and Carliſle were delivered into his hands: at the deſire of the Scots, he left Lambert with ſome regiments, to overawe the malignants of that country; and, having concerted meaſures with the marquis, returned in triumph to England. A. C. 1648.

The royaliſts in Colcheſter had defended the place with ſurpriſing intrepidity and reſolution, until they were compelled by famine to ſurrender at diſcretion. Then the general ſullied his victory with an act of cruelty, which he was inſtigated to commit by the barbarous and bloody-thirſty Ireton. In a council of war it was reſolved, That Lucas, Liſle, and Gaſcoign, ſhould be put to death; but the life of Gaſcoign was ſpared, on account of his being a foreigner. When the other two were brought out to be ſhot, Lucas gave the word to fire, as if he had been at the head of his own company. Colcheſter is ſurrendered to Fairfax, who cauſes Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle to be put to death.

A. C. 1648. pany. Liſle kiſſed him eagerly after he was dead; and deſired the executioners to come nearer. One of the ſoldiers replying, "I'll warrant you, Sir, "we will hit you:" "Friend (ſaid he ſmiling) I "have been nearer you when you have miſſed "me." So ſaying, he received their ſhot, and fell, lamented by all good men who had an opportunity to know the candor of his heart and the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition. Gaſcoign, who was a Florentine, having undreſſed himſelf to undergo the ſame fate, deſired he might be indulged with pen, ink, and paper, to make the grand duke acquainted with the nature of his death, that his family ſhould not be deprived of his poſſeſſions; and the council of war, finding he was a foreigner, would not take away his life, leſt the grand duke of Tuſcany ſhould make retaliation upon the Engliſh ſubjects in his dominions.

Clarendon.

The parliament take reſolutions for treating with the king.

While the army was at a diſtance from London, and the Scots expected in England, the preſbyterian party prevailed in the two houſes at Weſtminſter: and the independents were fain to ſubmit. The common-council of the city preſented a petition, demanding that the chains for their ſtreets and barricadoes, which had been taken from them, ſhould be reſtored: and major-general Skippon commiſſioned to command the forces in London. Their demands were immediately granted. The houſe of commons, having deliberated upon the form of government to be eſtabliſhed, voted that the nation ſhould be governed by a king and two houſes of parliament: That the propoſals ſent to the king at Hampton-court ſhould ſerve as a foundation for the government: and, that each member might freely ſpeak his ſentiments with reſpect to his majeſty. The parliament received another petition from the mayor and common-council, deſiring, that they ſhould be authorized to eſtabliſh their

their own militia: and, that the command of the Tower ſhould be conferred on a perſon recommended by them to the two houſes. The parliament complied with theſe requeſts; and the citizens began to prepare for action. On the fifth day of May, the commons publiſhed a declaration, importing, That they would maintain the covenant, and join the Scots in treating with his majeſty. The inhabitants of Surry repairing to Weſtminſter in great numbers, petitioned the two houſes, That the king ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in all his rights and prerogatives; and the troops diſbanded. They committed ſuch violence upon the guards of the parliament, that recourſe was had to a detachment of horſe and foot quartered in the Mews and Whitehall, who attacked and diſperſed them, after having killed and wounded a great number. Such raſh, inconſiderate conduct was prejudicial to the king's affairs. The preſbyterians began to ſuſpect, that their intention was to reſtore the king, without conditions; and therefore they kept aloof when the cavaliers took arms in different parts of the kingdom. A. C. 1648.

Embarraſſed between the royaliſts and independents, and equally afraid of the ſucceſs of either, they reſolved to conclude a peace with the king, during the abſence of the army. In ſpite of the oppoſition of the independents, the two houſes voted, That after the king ſhould have ſigned three bills to be preſented to his majeſty, they would treat with him upon the reſt of the propoſals to which the two kingdoms had agreed. Theſe three bills related to the eſtabliſhment of the militia, the preſbyterian diſcipline, and the revocation of the declarations which had been publiſhed againſt the parliament. The commons ordained, that the eleven members of their houſe, and the lords who had been accuſed by the army, ſhould be acquitted

The accuſed members are acquitted: the houſes determine to treat.

A. C. 1648. of all imputation; they reſtored Glyn, the member for Weſtminſter, who had been expelled; and forbid all perſons, on pain of death, to take arms without their authority. On the twenty-ſixth day of June, they appointed a committee to conſider of means to treat with his majeſty. The mayor, aldermen, and common-council petitioned, that a perſonal treaty ſhould be ſet on foot with his majeſty; and the Scots invited to concur with them in their endeavours after peace. The commencement of this negotiation was retarded by diſputes between the lords and commons. The advice of the committee was, that they ſhould annul the vote by which they had prohibited addreſſes to the king: that they ſhould not inſiſt upon the three bills as preliminary; but remove his majeſty to one of his houſes in the neighbourhood of London. The lords approved of this advice; but the commons refuſed to treat, except upon the three previous conditions. The city of London concurred with the upper houſe, in ſeveral petitions, and ſeemed to threaten the commons with more violent meaſures. Theſe, on the other hand, employed Skippon to enliſt ſoldiers for a guard, on pretence of apprehending the deſigns of the cavaliers, who at that time ſwarmed in London; and the independents employed all their arts to foment this diviſion.

The king and parliament agree to open the conferences at Newport.

At length, the commons conſented to wave the three preliminary bills; but, fifty days elapſed before they could agree upon the manner, time, and place of the treaty; and in that interval, the Scots and all the royaliſts were overthrown: ſo that the preſbyterians became more fearful, and the independent intereſt revived in the two houſes. Nevertheleſs, they reſolved to proceed with the treaty; and ſignified their reſolution to the king. In compliance with his demands, the upper houſe voted,

That

That the prohibition to addreſs him ſhould be annulled: That thoſe whoſe attendance and advice his majeſty required, ſhould be with him; and that he ſhould be reſtored to the ſame liberty he had enjoyed at Hampton-court: That the treaty ſhould be carried on in the town of Newport; and the Scots be invited to ſend thither their commiſſioners: That five lords and ten commoners ſhould be appointed as commiſſioners from the Engliſh parliament. The commons objected to the article of inviting the Scots; but agreed that they might ſend deputies of their own accord, or in conſequence of the king's invitation. They drew up inſtructions to colonel Hammond, touching his conducting the king to Newport; and inſiſted upon his majeſty's promiſing, upon his royal word, that he would not leave the iſle of Wight, during the conferences, nor for twenty-eight days after they ſhould be finiſhed. Mean while, petitions were delivered to the parliament, by the city of London, demanding, that the king ſhould be ſet at liberty, and invited to a perſonal treaty: another to the ſame purpoſe was preſented by the officers who had been reduced; but, when the news of Cromwell's victory arrived, the independents produced a petition, ſigned by many thouſands, taxing the commons with corruption; diſapproving of a treaty with the king; and propoſing the model of a ſort of republican government. This addreſs was ſeconded by another, in the name of the ſhip-maſters; but, the parliament did not think this was a proper conjuncture to irritate them further, by anſwering their reproaches: nevertheleſs, they perſiſted in their reſolution to treat, and their commiſſioners ſet out for the iſle of Wight. A. C. 1648. Rushworth

They were ſurpriſed at the manifeſt change that appeared in their hapleſs ſovereign. When he was bereft of his ſervants, and cut off from all human Particulars of the negotiation.

A. C. 1648. communication, he laid aſide all care of his perſon. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair, which being diſhevelled and neglected, was now almoſt totally ſilvered by the hand of time, or the preſſure of anxiety; and his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he ſtood a venerable figure of majeſty and diſtreſs, which even his adverſaries could not behold without reverence and compaſſion. Though his exteriors were altered, his mind was ſerene; he received them with a chearful aſpect; and, in the courſe of the conferences, diſcovered an amazing extent of underſtanding. The earl of Saliſbury, ſurpriſed at theſe inſtances of uncommon capacity, ſaid to Sir Philip Warwick, "The king is extremely improved "of late!" "He was always ſo, (replied the "other) but now, at laſt, you are ſenſible of it." Sir Henry Vane inſiſted upon their being rigid and circumſpect in propoſing terms of accommodation, on account of the king's uncommon abilities. He freely agreed to recal the declarations which had been publiſhed againſt the parliament; but it was not without great reluctance, that he conſented to acknowledge they had taken arms in their own defence. He ſurrendered to the parliament the whole power of the militia, and that of levying money for its ſupport, during the term of twenty years; nay, even that of reſuming the ſame authority, at any time after the expiration of that term, when they ſhould declare ſuch a ſtep neceſſary for the public ſafety. With reſpect to religion, he ſaid his conſcience would not permit him to conſent to the abolition of epiſcopacy, which he firmly believed was of apoſtolical inſtitution; and as to the ſale of the church-lands, he deemed it not only ſacrilegious, but expreſsly contrary to his coronation-oath, by which he was bound to maintain the rights of the clergy; nevertheleſs, to convince them

them of his eager desire after peace, he would consent to their reducing episcopacy to its primitive use: that archbishops, deans, and chapters, should be abolished: that the presbyterian form of discipline should continue for three years, during which the king and parliament, with the advice of the ecclesiastical assembly, and other divines named by his majesty, should agree upon some suitable plan of church-government. He yielded up the queen's privilege of having mass celebrated in her own chapel: he was willing that the chapter-lands should be let at low leases for ninety-nine years: he gave up the book of Common-prayer, with the proviso, that he might use some other liturgy in his own exercises of devotion: he resigned the whole management of the Irish war to the two houses: he promised his assent to an act for raising money to discharge the public debts: he submitted to the parliament's demand of selling all the great offices for twenty years, as well as to the abolition of the court of wards, on condition, that he and his successors should, in lieu of it, receive the annual sum of one hundred thousand pounds: he acknowledged their great seal, and resigned his own, together with the power of creating peers without the consent of the two houses: he consented to their obliging the royalists to compound for their estates; but, when they demanded a bill of attainder against the marquis of Newcastle, lord Digby, lord Byron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Greenvill, Sir Francis Doddington, and judge Jenkins, he absolutely refused to sacrifice his best friends to their vengeance, though he would have yielded to their banishment for a limited time. He continually upbraided himself with his tame condescension in giving up the earl of Strafford to the rage of an implacable faction; and his ideas of gratitude and friendship had been corroborated by the reflections A. C. 1643.

A. C. 1648. that occurred to him in his solitary confinement. Though he had now almost wholly divested himself of his royalty, to please the arrogance of an usurping parliament, the two houses having considered his answers and concessions, voted them unsatisfactory on the articles of episcopacy, popery, the covenant, the sale of church-lands, and delinquents. The term of the conferences was prolonged; and the parliament demanded a final answer of his majesty. To make a parade of their indulgence, they voted, That he might return with honour, liberty, and safety to London: and, That he should be put in possession of his lawful revenues, as soon as he should have subscribed to all their propositions. What was this but a cruel mockery of insolence and deceit! They professed to treat with their sovereign, and insisted upon his complying with all their demands. No person of sentiment and candour can reflect upon the pride and obstinacy of those plebeians, without indignation.

Remonstrance of the army against the king, who is removed to Hurst-castle.

While the king and the two houses were engaged in this negotiation, the officers of the army endeavoured to start new obstacles to a pacification. The king's party having surprised the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, colonel Rainsborough was sent to besiege the place, and lost his life in a struggle with a party of the garrison, which endeavoured to carry him off by stratagem. He was a desperate tool of Cromwell, who therefore resolved to revenge his death, and invested the castle with some of the troops from Scotland. In the mean time, he sent a strong detachment forwards to join Fairfax, whose head-quarters were at Windsor. The officers thus reinforced, drew up a remonstrance, and presented it to parliament. They demanded, that the king should be brought to justice, as the author of all the bloodshed and evils with which the

the kingdom had been afflicted: that the prince of Wales and the duke of York ſhould be proclaimed traitors, and baniſhed for ever, unleſs they ſhould ſubmit within a certain limited time: that the revenues of the crown ſhould be ſequeſtered for public uſes: that a continual ſucceſſion of parliaments ſhould be ſecured on ſome ſettled plan: that, for the future, no king ſhould be owned but by the election of parliament, and after the perſon ſo elected ſhould have expreſsly renounced his negative voice againſt the reſolutions of the commons. Addreſſes of the ſame kind were received from a number of the inhabitants and ſhip-maſters of London, from the neighbourhood of Oxford, the town of Newcaſtle, the county of York, and different bodies of the army. The general recalled Hammond, and ſent colonel Eure to take the king into cloſe cuſtody. The commons complained of this change, and ordered the general to continue Hammond in his command; but, inſtead of obeying their mandate, he directed Eure to remove his majeſty to the caſtle of Hurſt in Hampſhire, oppoſite to the iſle of Wight. He juſtified this ſtep by a declaration, in which the army taxed the majority of the members with corruption, and exhorted thoſe who had good intentions, to proteſt again the reſolutions of the two houſes, and retire; in which caſe the army would acknowledge and obey them as the legal parliament. A. C. 1648.

On the firſt day of December, the general wrote a letter to the city of London, intimating that he was on his march for that capital, on account of the contempt with which the parliament had treated the remonſtrance. He proteſted he had no ſiniſter deſign againſt the city; but deſired the magiſtrates would ſupply him with forty thouſand pounds ſterling, in eight and forty hours. The commons aſſented to the requeſt, though the mo- Rushworth. The commons purged by the army.

A. C. 1648. Clarendon.

ney was not ſent; and the general was intreated to advance no nearer to London. While the houſe was employed in examining the king's offers, the general arrived with ſeveral regiments, and took poſſeſſion of Weſtminſter. On the fourth day of the month, the houſe of commons receiving intelligence that the king was conveyed to Hurſt-caſtle, voted, That his majeſty had been removed without their conſent: then they reſolved, That the king's conceſſions might ſerve as a foundation for peace. After this vote, they appointed a committee to treat with the general, about reſtoring a good underſtanding between the parliament and the army. On the ſixth day of the month, Fairfax diſmiſſed the militia of London, which for ſeveral months had ſerved as a guard to the two houſes; and ordered his ſoldiers to take poſſeſſion of the avenues to Weſtminſter-hall. Forty-one members going to the lower houſe did they arreſt, and confine in a neighbouring houſe: and when the ſpeaker ſent thither the ſerjeant to ſummon thoſe members to their places, the officer who guarded them, told him he knew no orders ſuperior to thoſe he obeyed. Colonel Whally, accompanied by ſeveral officers, repaired to the houſe of commons, and preſented a writing, intitled, "Propoſitions and demands of "the army for its juſtification." They charged the invaſion of the Scots, and all the obſtacles which had hindered the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, upon major-general Brown, and ninety members of the houſe, whom they named, and whoſe immediate expulſion they demanded. On the ſeventh day of December, the commons, in going to the houſe, found a ſtrong guard on both ſide of the door, by which thoſe ninety members were denied admittance.

The preſbyterians being thus excluded, the houſe became wholly independent; and Cromwell taking

taking his ſeat, was thanked for his great ſervices. A. C. 1648.
The general detached three regiments into the city, and ſeized twenty thouſand pounds belonging to the merchants. The excluded members having publiſhed a proteſtation againſt the violence they had undergone, the two houſes declared it ſcandalous and ſeditious; then they ordained that in the enſuing election for the magiſtracy of London, no perſon ſhould be choſen mayor, or common council-man, who had aſſiſted the king againſt the parliament, either in the firſt or ſecond war; who had countenanced the tumults in London and Weſtminſter, or the inſurrections in Kent, Eſſex, Middleſex, or Surry. On the twentieth day of December, the general releaſed ſixteen of the impriſoned members, who were allowed to reſume their places in parliament. The ſmall number of peers who ſat in the upper houſe, unable to ſtem the torrent, thought proper to acquieſce in the meaſures of the victorious party. Petitions were now preſented againſt the king, by the ſoldiers of Lambert's army, and the counties of Somerſet and Norfolk; and the fleet under the earl of Warwick ſent a declaration, in which they concurred with the army's remonſtrance.

The independent intereſt prevails in parliament.

At length, this bold remnant of the houſe of commons, preſumed to form a reſolution which far tranſcended all former acts of treaſon and fanaticiſm. They appointed a committee to draw up a formal accuſation, or impeachment of his majeſty. Colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurſt-caſtle to Windſor. On the road he was permitted to dine at the houſe of lord Newburgh, who had previouſly contrived a ſcheme for his eſcape, by means of a fleet courſer provided for that purpoſe; but before the king arrived, the beaſt was lamed by the kick of another horſe. The duke of Hamilton, who

They reſolve to impeach the king, who is removed to Windſor.

was

A. C. 1643. was confined at Windsor, being admitted into the presence of his sovereign, ran towards him with all the eagerness of affection, and fell upon his knees, exclaiming, "My dear master!" The unhappy monarch raised him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear master to "you." The king was instantly hurried away, and the duke weeping bitterly, foretold that this was the last time he should see his persecuted prince. Such was the fortitude and resignation of Charles, that all his own misfortunes never cost him one tear; but, he could not see, unmoved, the ruin of his adherents. Immediately after the deplorable fate of the gallant Sir Charles Lucas, a relation of that gentleman appearing before the king, in a mourning habit, his majesty recollected the occasion, and shed a flood of tears as a tribute to the memory of the deceased. When Charles arrived at Windsor, the council of war ordained, that he should be no longer treated as a sovereign. All ceremony was laid aside: he saw himself deprived of his servants, and exposed to every insult of contemptuous familiarity. These were severe mortifications, which, however, he bore without repining. He could not believe his adversaries would presume to bring him to a formal trial; but, for some time, he nightly expected the private stroke of assassination, until he was undeceived by Harrison, who assured him, that his fate would be as public as the sun at noon.

On the twenty-eighth day of December, the commons having considered the report of their committee, passed an act for erecting a high court of justice, impowered to try the king, by the name of Charles Stuart, for having formed the detestable design to overthrow the fundamental laws and liberties of the nation, and introduce an arbitrary

and

and tyrannical government: for having waged a cruel war upon his parliament, by which the kingdom had been miserably ravaged, the public treasure exhausted, commerce intirely ruined, many thousands of people destroyed, and an infinite number of evils produced. Thomas lord Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Sir Hardress Waller, Philip Skippon, and other persons, to the number of one hundred and forty-five, were appointed commissioners and judges, on this surprising trial. A. C. 1648.

The ordinance for impeaching the king being sent to the upper house was unanimously rejected by sixteen peers, who instantly adjourned for ten days: the lower house immediately voted, That the members of their house, and the other commissioners nominated as judges on the king, might execute the commission, although the lords had rejected the ordinance. At the same time, they erazed from the commission, the names of six peers who had been appointed among the judges, and inserted others. Among these was Bradshaw, a practitioner of the law, whom they afterwards elected president of their high court of justice. This measure being taken, they voted, That the sovereign power resided originally in the people: That the authority of the nation was in the hands of the commons of England, assembled in parliament as representatives of the people: and, that whatsoever the commons declared to be law, had the force of a statute, without the assent of king or peers. From the sixth to the twentieth day of January, the time was employed in making preparations for this astonishing trial, which passed in Westminster-hall. On the sixth day of January the Scottish commissioners resident at London, in a letter to parliament, pressed for unity of councils and actions between the two nations, according to the covenant; and desired

The ordinance for impeaching the king rejected by the upper house.

that

A. C. 1648. that the houſe would not proceed to try the king until the opinion of Scotland ſhould be known,

The king is brought to trial, andrefuſes to own the juriſdiction of the court.

Coke being choſen ſolicitor-general for the trial, and Doriſlaus and Aſke appointed to aſſiſt in managing and drawing up the charge againſt the king, the court of juſtice heard the charge, and appointed a committee to peruſe the proofs. On the firſt day of the trial, the crier of the court called over the names of the commiſſioners; and nobody anſwering for lord Fairfax, his name was repeated, when a female voice from the gallery exclaimed, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read in the name of all the good people of England, "No, (replied the "ſame voice in a ſhriller tone) nor the twentieth "part of them." One of the officers ordered a file of muſqueteers to fire at the place from whence this anſwer proceeded; but they ſoon diſcovered that the perſon who ſpoke was the lady Fairfax, whom they perſuaded to retire. The king being brought from Windſor to St. James's, was next day produced before the high-court in Weſtminſter-hall, having been guarded thither by colonel Hacker, and about thirty officers armed. He was met at the gate by the mace of the court, and conducted to a chair placed within the bar, on which he ſat down without moving his hat; and with an air of dignified diſdain ſurveyed the members of the court, who were likewiſe covered. The preſident Bradſhaw gave him to underſtand, he was brought thither to be tried, upon a charge againſt him by the commons of England. His majeſty made a motion to ſpeak, but was interrupted. When he heard the charge, accuſing him as author of all the blood that had been ſhed during the war, he ſmiled at their inſolence; and demanded by what authority he was brought to ſuch a trial?

Bradſhaw replying, "In the name of the com- A. C. 1648.
"mons of England;" he obſerved, that without the king and the lords, there could be no parliament; that the kingdom of England was hereditary; and that, without being convinced of their having lawful authority, he ſhould betray his truſt in anſwering the articles of his impeachment. Having been ſummoned to anſwer ſeveral times, and refuſing as often, he was remanded to St. James's; and the court adjourned. On the twenty-ſecond day of January, the Scottiſh commiſſioners delivered ſome papers to the houſe, declaring, That Scotland had an undoubted intereſt in the perſon of the king: That he was not delivered to the Engliſh commiſſioners at Newcaſtle for the ruin of his perſon; but for a ſpeedier ſettlement of the peace of his kingdom. They diſſented extremely from the preſent way of proceeding againſt him, which, they ſaid, left a deep impreſſion on their hearts, and ſat heavy on their ſpirits, in regard of the great miſeries that were like to enſue upon the kingdoms; and they moved for leave of the houſe, to make their perſonal addreſſes to his majeſty; papers of the ſame nature they likewiſe preſented to the lord-general. At the ſecond ſitting of the high court, the preſident required the king to anſwer to the charge of high-treaſon which had been brought againſt him. His majeſty again demurred to the legality of the court; obſerved, that the commons of England never conſtituted a court of judicature; challenged Bradſhaw to produce one precedent; and offered to give his reaſons for conceiving, that he could not, in conſcience and duty, ſubmit to their authority. But he was interrupted by the preſident, and reconveyed to his lodgings. At his third appearance, he continued firm to his purpoſe; refuſed to put in any particular anſwer until he ſhould be convinced that their proceedings were

A. C. 1648. were not contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom: he told them they had made their king a priſoner, while he was in treaty, on the public faith of the kingdom: and, that he was willing to give ſatisfaction to his people; but not as a criminal before a court of judicature, which could have no legal authority. He underwent divers interruptions and inſolent replies from Bradſhaw, and was conducted to the houſe of Sir Robert Cotton in the neighbourhood, where he ſpent the night.

He is condemned to death.

The next ſtep was to publiſh the charge againſt his majeſty. On the twenty-ſeventh day of the month, the high-court ſat in Weſtminſter-hall: and the king in going thither was inſulted by the ſoldiers, and the loweſt claſs of the populace, who exclaimed, "Juſtice, juſtice! execution, execution!" He appeared undaunted as before, with his hat on; and deſired, that as he had ſomething to ſay that might nearly concern the peace of the kingdom, and the liberty of the ſubject, he might be heard before the lords and commons in the Painted-chamber. His judges withdrew into the court of wards, where many members of their court were of opinion that they ſhould comply with the king's deſire. When they were over-ruled by the majority, colonel Harvey and ſome others went away in diſcontent, and would never afterwards ſit with the reſt of the commiſſioners. The king's propoſal being rejected, he declared he had nothing elſe to ſay. Had he been indulged in this requeſt, it is thought he would have propoſed a reſignation of the crown in favour of the prince of Wales. The preſident now expatiated upon his miſgovernment; and endeavoured to prove by argument, and inſtances from hiſtory, that kings were accountable to their people. Then he commanded the clerk to read the ſentence, reciting the charge of treaſons and crimes, for which the court did

did adjudge, That he, the said Charles Stuart, A.C.1648-9
as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death, by severing his head from his body. He discovered no signs of emotion at this unheard of outrage against justice, humanity, and decorum; but again desired a hearing, which was refused. In walking through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the soldiers and rabble, instigated by their superiors, renewed the cry of "Justice and execution." They reviled and scoffed at him in the most bitter and taunting expressions: they blew into his face the smoke of tobacco, which was particularly offensive to his organs; and one miscreant even presumed to spit in the face of his anointed sovereign. These insults he bore with the patience and piety of a primitive martyr. He smiled at their rancour: "Poor souls! (said he) "for a little money they would treat their com-"manders in the same manner:" and he poured forth ejaculations to heaven in favour of his adversaries. Those of the populace who still retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their sorrow in sighs and tears. A soldier melting at the sight of fallen majesty, could not help imploring aloud, the blessing of heaven upon his royal head. An officer overhearing his petition, struck him to the ground in presence of the hapless monarch, who said, "The punishment methinks exceeds the "offence." At his return to Whitehall, he desired permission of the house to see his children, and be attended in his private devotion by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London; and both these requests were granted, though he was exposed to the impertinent exhortations of Hugh Peters the furious fanatical preacher.

The design of trying a king as a malefactor before a court of judicature, constituted of his own

A.C.1648-9 subjects, was looked upon with horror by every nation on the continent. Though the French ministry was distracted, and that kingdom involved in a civil war, their ambassador in England was ordered to interpose in the king's behalf. The Dutch also employed their good offices, though in a very cold, phlegmatic manner. The Scots exclaimed, preached, and protested against the violence offered to majesty. Pathetic letters were written to the parliament by the queen and the prince of Wales. The duke of Richmond, the earls of Hertford, Southampton, and Lindsey, presented a remonstrance to the commons, importing, that as they were the king's counsellors, and had advised all those measures now imputed as crimes to their sovereign, they only were guilty; and offered themselves as sacrifices to the safety of their prince. This generous interposition in favour of their hapless master, which reflects eternal honour on their names, produced no effect upon the commons; and the high-court of justice appointed the thirtieth day of January, for the king's execution.

The French, the Dutch, and the Scots, interpose in his behalf.

During this short interval of three days between his sentence and his death, he had a very tender interview with his two hapless children, the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, who were brought to him from Sion-house. This last was an infant; but the princess, though a child, expressed a deep sense of the misfortunes to which her family was exposed. The fond parent now wept over his orphan offspring, while he clasped them in his paternal embrace. He enriched his daughter with sensible advice and pious exhortations. He charged her to tell the queen, that he had never, not even in thought, swerved from his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal affection

Charles bears his fate with great equanimity.

tion ſhould not terminate but with his life. He gave her two ſeals adorned with jewels, the only wealth that now remained to this ill-fated monarch. He implored heaven to ſhower down bleſſings on theſe forlorn babes and the reſt of his children; and taking leave of them in the moſt affecting manner, reſigned himſelf to his fate. This laſt ſtruggle of nature being paſſed, he prepared himſelf for death with the moſt ſerene tranquillity. The greatneſs of this dreadful tranſaction overwhelmed the people with fear and aſtoniſhment; they waited in ſilent horror, as if they expected the diſſolution of nature. The fanaticiſm of the ſoldiers was wrought up to the higheſt pitch of enthuſiaſtic frenzy by ſermons, exhortations, and prayer. Fairfax, who exerted all his influence to avert the execution of the ſentence, was plied with this religious artifice: Cromwell and Ireton aſſured him that the Lord had rejected the king, and exhorted him to ſeek by prayer ſome direction from heaven. Harriſon was employed to join with him in his exerciſes of devotion, which he prolonged in prayer, pſalms, and lamentations, until the fatal ſtroke was over. A.C. 1648-9

The warrant for executing the king was now granted by the high-court of juſtice, and pious Charles longed for his deliverance. On the thirtieth day of January he was conducted on foot through St. James's park to Whitehall, accompanied by doctor Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot, under the command of colonel Tomlinſon. He had taken the ſacrament in the morning. He continued at his devotion in Whitehall till noon, when he drank a glaſs of wine, and ate a morſel of bread. Then he went through the Banqueting-houſe to the ſcaffold erected adjoining to that edifice. It was covered with black cloth: on the middle of it appeared the block and ax, with He is beheaded at Whitehall.

A.C 1648-9 two executioners in vizors; ſeveral troops of horſe and companies of foot were drawn up on each ſide, and the place was ſurrounded by a multitude of ſpectators. The king eyed the implements of death with great compoſure, and aſked if there was not a higher block. Then, addreſſing himſelf to colonels Tomlinſon, Hacker, and ſome other perſons who were on the ſcaffold, he declared himſelf innocent of having commenced the war againſt his parliament. He owned that his fate was a juſt judgment from heaven, for having conſented to the execution of an unjuſt ſentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his ſucceſſor as their lawful ſovereign; and ſignified his inviolable attachment to the proteſtant religion, as profeſſed in the church of England. While he prepared himſelf for the block, Dr. Juxon told him, there was but one ſtage more; which, though troubleſome, was ſhort, and would convey him to heaven, where he ſhould find ineffable joy and comfort. "I go (ſaid the king) from "a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where "no diſturbance can be." "You are exchanged "(replied the good biſhop) from a temporal to an "eternal crown; a good exchange." Charles, having taken off his cloak, delivered his george to the prelate, pronouncing the word, "Remem-"ber." Then he laid his neck upon the block, and ſtretched forth his hands as a ſignal. One of the men in vizors ſevered his head from his body at one blow; and the other, holding it up ſtreaming with blood, exclaimed, "This is the head of a "traitor." The ſpectators teſtified their ſorrow in ſighs, tears, and lamentations; and great numbers attempted to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood of this murdered prince, which they conſidered as the precious relics of a bleſſed martyr. Such

Ludlow. Whitelock. Ruſhworth. Clarendon.

were

were the impressions of grief and horror made by this melancholy spectacle, that some pregnant women lost the fruit of their wombs; others were seized with convulsions; and many fell into violent distempers that conveyed them to their graves. The very pulpits, that used to resound with insolence and sedition, were now bedewed with the tears of real sorrow and contrition; and the people, in general, conceived an abhorrence and detestation of those execrable hypocrites, who, under the mask of sanctity, performed a deed which hath fixed an indelible stain upon the character of the nation *. The body was put into a coffin covered with black velvet, and removed to an apartment in Whitehall; then enbalmed, and exposed for several days at the A.C. 1648-9

* That the people in general were afflicted and incensed at the execution of the king, appeared from the eagerness with which they bought up the first impression of the work, intitled, Icon Basilike, a collection of the prayers and meditations of the king in the exercise of his private devotion and reflection. The style of this book is strong, elegant, and perspicuous; and it abounds with such manly sentiments of piety and good sense, as reflect unfading honour upon the memory of the royal author. His enemies, not contented with having deprived him of life, endeavoured to rob him of the reputation of having written this performance, which they ascribed to Dr Gawden; but the Icon is so much superior in style, matter, and composition, to all the other productions of this author, that every reader of discernment must perceive the absurdity of the imputation. Charles was very liberal to the celebrated Flemish painter, Sir Peter-Paul Rubens, by whose advice he purchased the cartoons of Raphael, which are now in the palace of Hampton-court; together with many excellent pieces of painting from foreign countries. He likewise caressed Vandyke, who was the pupil of Rubens, and even bestowed upon him his own kinswoman in marriage. His architect was the famous Inigo Jones, an artist who far surpassed all his contemporaries, and left many monuments of his inimitable genius, that still remain in England. Laws, the musician, was a particular favourite with Charles, who used to call him the father of music. He bestowed particular marks of favour upon the renowned Harvey, who, to the eternal honour of the English nation, discovered the circulation of the blood, from his own sagacity assisted by experiments. It must be allowed that this prince was a judge of literary merit. Charles, considering the narrowness of his revenue, lived with great magnificence, and possessed four and twenty palaces, elegantly and compleatly furnished. All his furniture was sold, and great part of his pictures and rich tapestry were purchased by cardinal Mazarine at low prices.

A.C. 1648 palace of St. James's. At length, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, obtained permission to bury it in the church of Windsor; where it was privately interred, without any funeral ceremony †.

Character of Charles I. king of England.

Such was the unworthy and unexampled fate of Charles I. king of England, who fell a sacrifice to the most atrocious insolence of treason, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and in the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was a prince of a middling stature, robust, and well proportioned. His hair was of a dark colour, his forehead high, his complexion pale, his visage long, and his aspect melancholy. He excelled in riding and other manly exercises: he inherited a good understanding from nature, and had cultivated it with great assiduity. His perception was clear and acute, his judgment solid and decisive; he possessed a refined taste for the liberal arts, and was a munificent patron to those who excelled in painting, sculpture, music, and architecture. In his private morals he was altogether unblemished and exemplary. He was merciful, modest, chaste, temperate, religious, perso-

† Charles, by his queen Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France, had four sons and five daughters; namely, Charles James, who died in the cradle; Charles prince of Wales, by whom he was succeeded; James duke of York; Henry duke of Gloucester, who died after the restoration; Mary, who espoused William of Nassau, prince of Orange, by whom she was left a widow; Elizabeth, confined by the regicides in Carisbrook castle, where she died of grief; Anne, and Catharine, who died in their infancy; and Henrietta-Maria, who was carried in her infancy by the countess of Dalkeith into France, where she married Philip duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. Carte.

During the peaceable period of this reign, the commerce of England increased considerably, to the East-Indies, Guinea, Spain, and Turkey. The colony of New-England became populous; for great numbers of Puritans fled thither in consequence of being severely treated by Laud and the high-church party. The catholics, afterwards, in order to avoid the same kind of persecution from the Puritans, resorted to America, and settled the colony of Maryland.

nally

*STUART* Duke of *RICHMOND.*

nally brave; and we may join the noble historian in saying, "He was the worthiest gentleman, the "best master, the best friend, the best husband, "the best father, and the best christian of the age "in which he lived." He had the misfortune to be bred up in high notions of the prerogative, which he thought his honour and his duty obliged him to maintain. He lived at a time when the spirit of the people became too mighty for those restraints which the regal power derived from the constitution; and when the tide of fanaticism began to overbear the religion of his country, to which he was conscientiously devoted. He suffered himself to be guided by counsellors who were not only inferior to himself in knowledge and judgment; but generally proud, partial, and inflexible: and, from an excess of conjugal affection that bordered upon weakness, he paid too much deference to the advice and desires of his consort, who was superstitiously attached to the errors of popery, and importuned him incessantly in favour of the Roman catholics. Such were the sources of all that misgovernment which was imputed to him during the first fifteen years of his reign. From the beginning of the civil war to his fatal catastrophe, his conduct seems to have been unexceptionable. His infirmities and imperfections have been candidly owned in the course of the narration. He was not very liberal to his dependents; his conversation was not easy, nor his address pleasing; yet the probity of his heart, and the innocence of his manners, won the affection of all who attended his person, not even excepting those who had the charge of his confinement. In a word, he certainly deserved the epithet of a virtuous prince, though he wanted some of those shining qualities which constitute the character of a great monarch. A.C. 1648.

# THE COMMONWEALTH.

A. C. 1649.

The parliament chooſe a council of ſtate.

AFTER Charles I. had fallen a martyr to a bold and unrelenting faction, the commons publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all perſons, on pain of incurring the penalty of high treaſon, to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, eldeſt ſon of the late king, as ſovereign of England. They likewiſe voted the houſe of lords uſeleſs and dangerous. It was therefore aboliſhed, and all the peers reduced to a level with their fellow-ſubjects. They afterwards paſſed an act, aboliſhing the kingly power, as uſeleſs, burdenſome, and dangerous; and decreed, that the ſtate ſhould be governed by the repreſentatives of the people, ſitting in the houſe of commons, under the form of a republic. On their new great-ſeal were engraved the arms of England and Ireland, circumſcribed "The great-ſeal of England:" the other ſide repreſented the houſe of commons, ſurrounded with this inſcription, "In the firſt year of freedom, by "God's bleſſing reſtored, 1648." It was committed to the charge of a certain number of perſons, intitled, The Conſervators of the liberty of England; and all public orders were expedited in their names, under the direction of parliament. Thirty-nine perſons were choſen as a council of ſtate for the adminiſtration of public affairs, under the authority of parliament. Another high-court of juſtice was erected, to try ſome noblemen who remained in cuſtody; and Bradſhaw was again elected preſident.

Clarendon. Ludlow.

Execution of duke Hamilton and lord Capel.

The perſons devoted to death under this form of juſtice, were the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring whom the king had created

created earl of Norwich, lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, accuſed of having carried arms againſt the parliament. The duke of Hamilton had made his eſcape, and was diſcovered by accident in the burrow of Southwark, from whence he was conveyed to the Tower. At his trial, he pleaded, that he was not a ſubject of England; but a priſoner of war, taken in open hoſtility, acting by virtue of a commiſſion from the parliament of his own country. The judge told him he was tried as earl of Cambridge; and that having accepted this title, and ſat in the Engliſh parliament, he was become a ſubject of England. The earl of Holland, being oppreſſed with age and infirmities, made very little defence. The earl of Norwich ſaid he had been bred from his youth in the court, and received many obligations from his majeſty, whom he thought it was his duty to obey. Lord Capel refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the court; he claimed a fair trial by his peers, if he had done any thing contrary to the laws. He affirmed, that when Colcheſter was taken, general Fairfax had promiſed that his life ſhould be ſpared: but this promiſe was over-ruled, upon the general's declaring he had only exempted the priſoner from military execution. Sir John Owen ſaid he had ſerved the king according to his conſcience, and the oath of allegiance he had taken. They were all convicted, and condemned to loſe their heads. Sir John Owen hearing the ſentence, thanked the court, with a profound reverence, for adjudging him to ſuch an honourable death; and ſwore, by God! he was afraid they would have ordered him to be hanged like a felon. Their friends petitioned the parliament in their behalf; and the earl of Norwich, with Sir John Owen, were reprieved. The duke, when he mounted the ſcaffold, complained bitterly of the ſentence, by which he ſuf- A. C. 1649.

A. C. 1649. fered death for obeying orders which he could not have rejected, without incurring the penalty of high treason. This nobleman is represented by historians as a dissembling temporiser, who was never hearty in the king's affairs; but, from the tenour of his conduct, he seems to have been rather diffident and irresolute, than lukewarm or perfidious; and, in all probability, his chief aim was to moderate the mutual animosity by which the two parties of his own country were inflamed. Lord Capel behaved in his last moments with great dignity and resolution. He, in a speech to the people, extolled the virtues of their murdered sovereign, and exhorted them to acknowledge his son the prince of Wales, whom he recommended as a prince of genius, courage, and piety. This nobleman died a shining example of worth, valour, and fidelity. Divers other unfortunate royalists were executed in different parts of the kingdom; and, among the rest, Poyer, who, with Powel and Langhorn, had raised an insurrection in Wales for the king's service.

Baker. Clarendon.

The members of the house sign the engagement.

The commons finding themselves exposed to the ridicule and reproach of the nation, from their scanty number, resolved that all the excluded members might resume their places, on condition they would sign a writing called "The engagement," renouncing all the concessions made by the late king in the treaty of Newport, approving the proceedings against him, and obliging themselves to be faithful to the republic, and the administration established under the house of commons, without king or peers. By this expedient they excluded all those who were known enemies to the independents, or secret friends to the royal cause.

The prince of Wales, now in the eighteenth year of his age, resided at the Hague, where he received

received the melancholy tidings of his father's death. He forthwith assumed the title of king; and; and all those who attended him, and had been members of his father's council, were now continued as counsellers, and took the oath accordingly. He subsisted entirely on the friendship and bounty of his brother-in-law the prince of Orange; but he soon saw himself in danger of being cut off from that resource. The states of Holland, foreseeing that the parliament would insist upon their obliging him to leave their dominions, were inclined to anticipate the demand; and the king being informed of their inclination, resolved to prevent the disgrace of a dismission: but he knew not where to find a retreat. In his father's lifetime, he had met with an inhospitable reception in France; and he was too well acquainted with the disposition of the queen-regent and the cardinal, to believe they would now prefer his friendship to that of the new republic: besides, he could not relish the prospect of living with a mother, who had endeavoured already to direct his conduct with the most despotic authority. In this emergency Charles fixed his eye upon Ireland. The pope's nuncio had rendered himself so odious to the catholics of that kingdom, that he was obliged to retire. The marquis of Ormond having concluded a second treaty with the council of Kilkenny, took the command of their forces, with which he wrested Dundalk, Newry, Trim, and Drogheda, from the hands of the parliament of England, and resolved to undertake the siege of Dublin. Prince Rupert, who now commanded the king's fleet, had been chaced by a superior navy under the earl of Warwick, and retired to the harbour of Kingsale, where he lay in safety, and was able to favour the operations of the marquis. Thither Charles resolved

A. C. 1649. Charles II. resolves to try his fortune in Ireland.

to

A. C. 1649. to retire, when his design was suspended, in consequence of the intelligence he received from Scotland.

He is proclaimed in Scotland; but declines complying with their proposals.

The parliament in that kingdom had disavowed the proceedings against the late king; and in high terms taxed the English parliament with a violation of the covenant, insomuch that their commissioners were arrested, and for some time detained in custody. The Scots hated the independents, whom they considered as implacable enemies to their nation, as well as to the presbyterian discipline; and they dreaded the thoughts of a republican government, settled upon the principles which the English parliament seemed to pursue. Their states therefore being assembled, issued a proclamation, acknowledging Charles II. as their lawful and hereditary sovereign, on condition that, before his admission to the exercise of the regal functions, he should give proper satisfaction to the kingdom, touching the security of religion, the union between the two nations, and the peace of Scotland, according to the national and solemn league and covenant. Deputies were sent to inform the king of this transaction; and they reached the Hague just at the time when the earls of Lanerk and Lauderdale arrived in Holland. In a few days after their landing, the king was visited by the marquis of Montrose, who had formerly paid his respects to the queen and Charles, then prince of Wales, at Paris, where they received him very coldly, because they were afraid of disobliging the covenanters, by whom the marquis was abhorred. After that interview, Montrose engaged in the service of the emperor; but hearing of his master's martyrdom, he now repaired to the Hague, with a numerous retinue of gentlemen, who followed his fortunes, and made a tender of his service to his young

young ſovereign: ſo that now the king was beſieged by three parties of the Scottiſh nation, who hated one another; namely, the rigid covenanters, patroniſed by Argyle; the moderate preſbyterians, who adhered to duke Hamilton; and the royaliſts, headed by Montroſe. The king had no great reaſon to be rejoiced at the news of his being proclaimed, under ſuch reſtrictions. He was diſpleaſed at their inſolence, in preſuming to capitulate with their ſovereign: he remembered that the ruin of his father was entirely owing to the Scottiſh preſbyterians: he had no great opinion of their power and unanimity: he deteſted their hypocriſy, was averſe to their auſtere manners, and waved their invitation. Inſtead of ſubſcribing to their conditions, he perſiſted in his deſign to viſit Ireland; and in the mean time granted a commiſſion to Montroſe to make a deſcent upon Scotland. A. C. 1649.

Charles, in conſequence of his mother's importunities, reſolved to viſit her before his voyage to Ireland. He was the more inclined to gratify her in this requeſt, as he perceived the ſtates-general were heartily tired of his reſiding in Holland: beſides, his departure was haſtened by an incident which gave great umbrage to the Dutch nation. Dr. Doriſlaus, a native of Delft, who had lived many years in England, and been employed as judge-advocate in the parliament's army, was now ſent over to the Hague, in quality of agent from the two houſes. On the very evening of his arrival, as he ſat at ſupper in a public ordinary, five or ſix ſtrangers entering the apartment, with their ſwords drawn, one of them deſired the company would be under no apprehenſion, as their buſineſs was only with Doriſlaus, agent to the rebels in England, who had ſo lately murdered their ſovereign. So ſaying, he pulled him aſide, and killed him on the ſpot. The aſſaſſin and his confederates retired

Dr. Doriſlaus aſſaſſinated at the Hague by ſome Scottiſh officers.

A. C. 1649. retired unmoleſted: but they were known to be Scottiſh officers depending upon the marquis of Montroſe. The ſtates did not fail to complain of this outrage; but they behaved with great reſpect to the king, and proceeded ſo ſlowly in their inquiſition, that the offenders had time to conſult their own ſafety.

Inſurrection in Scotland.

Charles, in order to avert the diſgrace of a formal intimation to be gone, deſired an audience of the ſtates of Holland, to whom he explained the nature of his ſituation, with regard to Scotland and Ireland, and craved their advice and aſſiſtance. After this inſtance of his confidence and eſteem, they could not, with any decency, deſire him to withdraw, eſpecially as he had ſignified his reſolution to viſit Ireland with the firſt opportunity. Mean while, he appointed the lord Cottington, and Mr. Hyde chancellor of the exchequer, his ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries to the court of Madrid, to ſolicit ſuccours from his moſt catholic majeſty. His friends in Scotland underſtanding he was averſe to the conditions which the parliament wanted to impoſe, determined to excite an inſurrection; and, if it ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, receive him upon his own terms. Colonel Middleton and Monro, with the aſſiſtance of the Gordons, levied ſome troops, and ſurpriſed Inverneſs; but they were ſoon diſperſed by the vigilance and activity of Strachan, an officer employed againſt them by the parliament.

Mutiny of the levellers at Burford.

The face of affairs in Ireland underwent ſuch an alteration as rendered it impracticable for the king to go thither with any proſpect of advantage. The

Clarendon.

Engliſh houſe of commons was now at leiſure to provide for the ſecurity of that kingdom. They were alarmed at the union of the royaliſts and the Iriſh Roman catholics: they voted a ſtrong army for that ſervice, and Cromwell was appointed lord lieutenant

*FRANCIS* Lord *COTTINGTON.*

lieutenant of the kingdom. The levellers, incenſed at finding themſelves treated as mutineers, and ſowers of ſedition, after they had acted ſuch a conſiderable part in reducing the preſbyterians, began to aſſemble, on pretence of deliberating upon the choice of the troops to ſerve in Ireland; and actually took poſt at Burford, to the number of five thouſand, pretending Cromwell had promiſed that no part of the army ſhould approach within ten miles of their rendezvous: but Reynolds, by the direction of Fairfax, fell upon them ſuddenly, at the head of ſix thouſand men, and they were totally routed. About fourteen hundred he made priſoners and ſent to London: a few of theſe were executed, and the reſt pardoned through the mediation of Cromwell. A. C. 1649. Baker.

The marquis of Ormond obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Dublin.

While Oliver was employed in preparing forces for the Iriſh expedition, the marquis of Ormond undertook the ſiege of Dublin: but hearing that Cromwell intended to land his troops in Munſter, he detached lord Inchequin to that province to oppoſe him, and began to form the blockade of Dublin, though his army was now conſiderably weakened. Cromwell had ſent thither a reinforcement of three thouſand men; and colonel Jones, the governor, being thus ſtrengthened, would no longer remain upon the defenſive. He made a ſally with the beſt part of his garriſon, and charged the quarters of the beſiegers at day-break with ſuch fury, that Ormond's army fled with great precipitation; he himſelf eſcaping with difficulty, after he had made a gallant ſtand with a body of officers. Cromwell, being informed of this action, changed his deſign; and, inſtead of landing in Munſter, ſailed directly to Dublin, where he arrived in the middle of Auguſt. Then the marquis retired with the wreck of his army to a greater diſtance, after having thrown into Tredagh a numerous garriſon, under

A. C. 1649. der the command of Sir Arthur Aſton. About the ſame time the royaliſts were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of London-derry, in conſequence of a defeat they ſuſtained in a ſally from Sir Charles Coot the governor. Theſe unfavourable events deterred the king from proſecuting his purpoſe of repairing to Ireland: but, as he found his ſituation at Paris very uncomfortable, both on account of his mother's temper, and the mortifying neglect of the French court, he retired with his brother the duke of York, and his little court, to the iſland of Jerſey, where Sir George Carteret the governor ſtill preſerved his fidelity inviolate.

The king retires to Jerſey.

Clarendon.

He agrees to treat with the Scots.

The committee of the Scottiſh parliament, which had received no definitive anſwer from Charles, diſpatched George Windham to the king, with propoſals for his ſettlement in Scotland, according to a treaty to be concluded between him and the ſtates; but they proteſted they would not begin the negotiation, until he ſhould have acknowledged the legality of the preſent parliament. Before Windham reached Jerſey, the king had received the account of Ormond's defeat, and Cromwell's progreſs in Ireland, where he had taken Tredagh by aſſault, and put the garriſon and Iriſh inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex. Charles was moreover importuned by the queen and the prince of Orange, to liſten to the Scottiſh propoſals; ſo that Windham found him extremely well diſpoſed to a treaty. Not that he would have condeſcended ſo far, could he have found any other reſource; for, after he had aſſured Windham that he would meet the Scottiſh commiſſioners at Breda, in the month of March, he wrote a letter to Montroſe, to haſten his preparations for a deſcent upon Scotland, in hope that his ſucceſs would ſpare him the mortification of treating with thoſe whom he conſidered as the worſt of rebels. When Windham returned

Whitelock.

Bate.

returned to his own country, the parliament, and general assembly of the kirk, influenced by the marquis of Argyle, concurred in preparing a set of propositions, and appointed deputies to open the conferences at Breda. A. C. 1650.

They met the king at the appointed time and place, and presented him with four articles of peace, from which they would not recede. They demanded that none of those who had been excommunicated by the kirk, should have access to his majesty: That he would declare upon oath, and by writing signed with his privy-seal, his approbation of the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant of the two kingdoms, and fulfil the intention of them to the best of his power: That he would confirm and ratify the acts of parliament, enjoining the subscription of those covenants, establishing the presbyterian church-government, the Directory, the Confession of Faith, and the Catechism: That he would practise them himself; give order that they should be practised by his domestics; and promise that he would never allow them to be changed; finally, That all civil concerns should be regulated by the parliament, and all ecclesiastical affairs by the general assembly. Charles did not receive these proposals without indignation, which, however, he carefully dissembled, because he was in no condition to manifest his resentment. He signified his aversion to take the covenant, which indeed he detested: he offered to confirm the presbyterian discipline in Scotland, by act of parliament; but with respect to his own person, he thought it unreasonable to expect that he should renounce the religion in which he had been educated. He desired to know if they had power to relax in any demand, or to treat about the assistance he might expect from the Scots, towards his being restored to the crown of England. They owned

Their propositions at Breda.

A. C. 1650. owned they had no such powers; and that he had no other alternative but that of accepting or rejecting their propositions.

Montrose arrives in Scotland.

Shocked as he was, at this insolent imposition, he found it absolutely necessary to temporize, and protracted the negotiation, until he should hear from Montrose, upon whose success all his hopes were founded. That heroic nobleman having been supplied with money by the king of Denmark, and some private gentlemen of his own country, who were settled in that kingdom, and in Sweden, purchased some arms and ammunition, which, with about five hundred soldiers, he transported to the most northern parts of Scotland, at the very time when the commissioners were at Breda. He surprised a castle, in which he secured his military stores, summoned his friends to join him, and published a manifesto, representing, that he was come by virtue of his majesty's commission, to protect his fellow-subjects, without any intention to interrupt the negotiation at Breda. On the contrary, he hoped to facilitate the conclusion of it, by means of his army; and should it be crowned with success, he would immediately lay down his arms.

He is defeated and taken.

The parliament at Edinburgh was exceedingly irritated against the king, for having, at such a conjuncture, granted a commission to a person who was alike the object of their terror and abhorrence, degraded and forfeited by their court of justiciary, and excommunicated by their clergy. They perceived the king's drift was to make his own terms. They forthwith assembled an army, under the command of David Lesley; and, in the mean time, detached Strachan northwards with a body of horse, to keep the country in awe, and hinder the royalists from joining Montrose. The marquis had no cavalry, and very few partisans repaired to his standard; so that he neither could

procure intelligence of the enemy, nor withſtand them when they ſuddenly appeared. The highlanders fled at the firſt charge; but the foreigners made a vigorous ſtand for ſome time, and the marquis fought with his uſual intrepidity: at length, however, they were broken and diſperſed. Montroſe himſelf, being obliged to provide for his ſafety in flight, threw away his george and garter, and exchanging apparel with a peaſant, repaired in this diſguiſe to the houſe of a gentleman who had formerly ſerved under his command. There he lay concealed for two days; but, whether he was betrayed by his landlord, or diſcovered by accident, he fell into the hands of Leſley, who treated him with great inſolence; and, after having expoſed him to the view of the people, in this wretched attire, conveyed him to Edinburgh, where the parliament was then ſitting. At the gate of the city he was delivered to the magiſtrates, who cauſed him to be bound down upon a high chair, placed in a cart provided for the purpoſe, and conducted thro' the public ſtreet, that the people might have a full view of the man, at mention of whoſe name they had ſo often trembled. The common executioner ſtood by him in the cart, before which the officers taken in the engagement walked in fetters to the priſon, where he was treated as a common malefactor. He ſtood collected within himſelf, and bore all theſe indignities with the moſt noble diſdain, often ſmiling at the ridiculous rancour of his enemies. A. C. 1650.

In two days after his commitment, he was brought before the parliament, and bitterly reviled by the earl of Loudon the chancellor, who upbraided him with having broken the covenants, rebelled againſt God, the king, and the kingdom, and committed many horrible murders, treaſons, and impities. He told them, that as the king had condeſcended to Condemned and executed.

A. C. 1650. treat with them, he would behave towards them with more reverence than he ſhould otherwiſe have expreſſed for ſuch an aſſembly. He ſaid he had taken and kept the firſt covenant, while they proſecuted the purpoſes for which it was ordained; that he had never ſubſcribed the ſecond, which was productive of the moſt monſtrous rebellion; that he had raiſed forces by virtue of his majeſty's commiſſion, and acted like a faithful ſubject, without perpetrating thoſe cruelties that were laid to his charge, or ſuffering any blood to be ſhed but in battle; on the contrary, he had always put a ſtop to the carnage as ſoon as he poſſibly could take ſuch a ſtep with any regard to his own ſafety, and had ſaved the lives of many perſons then preſent, to whoſe evidence he appealed. He obſerved, that he had laid down his arms, and quitted the kingdom, at his late maſter's command; that he had now again returned to Scotland, by the authority of his preſent majeſty. He adviſed them to conſider the conſequence of proceeding againſt him in this manner, and demanded a fair trial by the laws of the land, or by the law of nations. He was condemned to be hanged the next day on a gallows thirty feet high; and the ſentence implied, that he ſhould be afterwards quartered, and his members expoſed in different parts of the kingdom. During this ſhort interval, he was perſecuted by their miniſters, who told him his ſufferings in this life would be but an eaſy prologue to thoſe which he would undergo hereafter; and without ſcruple pronounced his eternal damnation. He heard them with ſcorn, obſerving, that they were a miſerable, deluding and deluded people, and would ſhortly bring that poor nation to the moſt inſupportable ſervitude. He declared, he was as well pleaſed to hear that his head ſhould be placed on the Tolbooth, as he ſhould be to know that his picture hung in the king's bed-chamber; and

and wished he had flesh enough to be distributed among all the cities of Christendom, as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered. At the place of execution, the hangman tied about his neck, with a cord, an elegant Latin book, containing the history of his exploits, written by Dr. Wishart, who had been his chaplain. He smiled at this mark of impotent malice, saying, he was prouder of that collar than ever he had been of the garter. He demeaned himself with undaunted courage, and the most pious resignation. He expatiated on the virtues of his murdered master; spoke in praise of the justice and goodness of the present king, and fervently prayed that they might not betray him as they had betrayed his father. After some devout ejaculations, he chearfully submitted to the sentence, which was executed with every circumstance of barbarous exultation. Such was the ignominious death of James Graham, marquis of Montrose, a nobleman of illustrious birth, unspotted faith, amasing courage, and incredible magninimity. He possessed the romantic virtues of heroism above all his cotemporaries. He thirsted after glory with the most greedy appetite: he seemed insensible of danger; and thinking himself equal to the most arduous enterprize, atchieved a series of the most surprising adventures. Thirty of the officers taken with Montrose were executed in different parts of the kingdom; and, among these, colonel Urrey, who had shifted sides so often since the beginning of the troubles. Colonel Whiteford saved his own life by saying, when he was brought to the place of execution, that he was to suffer for no other reason, but because he had slain Dorislaus, who was concerned in the murder of the late king. The magistrate then present suspended the execution, in order to report this expression to the council, who

A. C. 1650.

Clarendon. Whitelocke.

A. C. 1650. thought proper to avoid reproach, by ſparing the colonel's life.

The king lands in Scotland.

After the death of Montroſe, the king finding himſelf abſolutely without other reſource, ſubſcribed the terms which the Scottiſh commiſſioners had preſented, and embarked at Scheveling, with the earl of Lanerk, now duke of Hamilton, and his kinſman the earl of Lauderdale, who were ſo obnoxious to the rigid preſbyterians, that when they arrived in Scotland, they found it neceſſary to retire to their reſpective houſes for their perſonal ſafety. The king was obliged to ſign the covenant, before the Scots would allow him to ſet his foot on ſhore. Then the marquis of Argyle received him with demonſtrations of the moſt profound reſpect: but all his Engliſh domeſtics of any quality were removed from his perſon, except the duke of Buckingham. Daniel O Neal was apprehended, as an Iriſhman who had been in arms for the late king, and baniſhed from Scotland by order of the council: and they diſmiſſed Mr. Robert Long, principal ſecretary of ſtate, Sir Edward Walker clerk of the council, and many other ſervants, whoſe places they ſupplied with rigid covenanters. He was ſurrounded, and inceſſantly importuned by their clergy, who came to inſtruct him in religion; obliged to give conſtant attendance at their long ſermons and prayers, which generally turned upon the tyranny of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignant diſpoſition. They inſiſted upon his obſerving Sunday as the moſt rigorous faſt of a Jewiſh ſabbath; they kept a ſtrict watch upon his looks and geſtures; and, if ever he chanced to ſmile during this religious mummery, he underwent a ſevere reprimand for his profanity. With reſpect to the external appearances of royalty, he had no occaſion to complain. He lived in great ſtate

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and plenty, was well attended, and ſerved with marks of deference and ſubmiſſion; but debarred all exerciſe of regal power, and reſtricted in every article of private ſatisfaction. The marquis of Argyle at firſt ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with Charles, by the moſt complaiſant deportment, and ſuch entertaining converſation as he thought would be agreeable to his majeſty: but, when the king hinted the deſire of effecting an union between him and Hamilton, he appeared extremely averſe to ſuch a coalition, and gradually withdrew himſelf from all communication with his ſovereign, whom he now ſuſpected of a deſign to accompliſh his deſtruction by means of his inveterate rival. A. C. 1650.

The Engliſh parliament, alarmed at the treaty of Breda, as ſuppoſing that the king would employ an army of Scots to recover the crown of England, reſolved to anticipate the danger by carrying the war immediately into Scotland, whither, in all probability, they were invited by the marquis of Argyle; and for this purpoſe they recalled Cromwell from Ireland, which by this time was almoſt wholly ſubdued. The marquis of Ormond was diſabled from oppoſing him effectually, by the diſſenſions that prevailed among the Iriſh. Monk, after a long impriſonment, had been perſuaded to engage in the ſervice of the parliament, and now acted as one of their generals, under Cromwell. He concluded a peace with O Neal, which was authorized by the council of ſtate; but the parliament having refuſed to ratify it, as being too favourable to the catholics, O Neal began to treat with Ormond; and was on the point of joining that nobleman, when his purpoſe was prevented by death: then his troops diſperſed of their own accord. Mean while Cromwell reduced Kilkenny, with many other places, and proſecuted his conqueſts with ſurpriſing rapidity. That the Iriſh

Rapid progreſs of Cromwell in Ireland: fromwhence he is recalled, and declared general of the commonwealth's forces.

Clarendon Bat

A. C. 1650. might not have opportunities to compromise their differences, and unite against him, he, by proclamation, permitted their officers to enlist as many soldiers as they could engage in foreign service, and assured them that they should depart unmolested. Above five and twenty thousand immediately took the advantage of this permission, and entered into the service of France; so that all opposition was subdued. Then he constituted his son-in-law Ireton deputy-lieutenant, and returned to England, in obedience to the mandate of the parliament. When he took his seat in the house, the speaker thanked him for the services he had done the commonwealth: then they proceeded to deliberate upon the war with Scotland. They desired to know if Fairfax would conduct that enterprize. He knew they did not much depend upon his attachment, and that this was no other than a bare compliment. He therefore declined the service, and sent his commission to the commons, who gratified him with a pension of five thousand pounds, and appointed Oliver Cromwell general of the forces of the commonwealth. As the royalists and presbyterians exclaimed against the injustice of this war, the house appointed a committee to draw up a declaration, in which they supposed that the Scots intended to intrude Charles II. into the throne of England, though they had not as yet signified any such intention.

Whitelock.

The Scots raise an army.

They had indeed begun to levy some troops; and they were no sooner informed of the English preparations, than they redoubled their diligence in assembling an army, the command of which they bestowed upon Lesley earl of Leven. Argyle, in modelling this army, excluded all officers and soldiers who were suspected of having a warm side to the royal cause. Commissions were granted to none but rigid presbyterians, who were generally destitute

*GENERAL IRETON.*

destitute of courage and discipline. They were directed by a committee of the kirk and state. The ministers encouraged them with long prayers, and preached with equal bitterness against the vices of the court, and the impiety of Cromwell. They promised victory with as much confidence as they could have expressed, if they had been actually inspired. With great difficulty they consented to the king's seeing the army; but perceiving the soldiers were pleased with the sight of their sovereign, they removed him to a greater distance, declaring that the soldiers were too much inclined to put their confidence in the arm of flesh, whereas their hope and dependence ought to be in the prayers and piety of the kirk. A. C. 1650.

About the middle of July, Cromwell, at the head of an army amounting to eighteen thousand men, began his march for the Scottish border, where he published his manifesto, and understood that the Scots were encamped, to the number of eight and twenty thousand men, well armed and equipped, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. They had ordered all the people to quit the country between Berwick and the capital, and remove their effects; so that Cromwell advanced without opposition through a desolate country, attended by a fleet which supplied him with provision. He found the enemy so strongly entrenched between Leith, Edinburgh, and Dalkeith, that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage, and thought proper to retreat towards Musselburgh. Lesley detached a body of horse to fall upon his rear, commanded by Lambert, over whom they gained some advantage. Next day a hot skirmish happened between two detachments; and the Scots were repulsed to their camp with considerable loss. Cromwell made another motion towards them, in hope of drawing them from their intrenchments; Cromwell marches into Scotland.

A. C. 1650. but all his efforts were ineffectual. After the two armies had remained in ſight of each other for ſeveral weeks, Cromwell was ſo ſtraitened for want of proviſion and forage, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of retiring. He reſolved to embark his infantry on board of the fleet, and return with his horſe to Berwick. With this view he marched to Dunbar, where his navy lay at anchor; and by this time his army was diminiſhed to about twelve thouſand men. He was followed by the Scots, who encamped upon a hill, at the diſtance of a mile from Dunbar, in full confidence of putting an end to the war, by the deſtruction of the whole Engliſh army.

Defeats the Scots at Dunbar.

Indeed Cromwell was now reduced to ſuch difficulty, that he could neither embark his troops, proſecute his march, nor remain in his preſent ſituation, without expoſing his army to the moſt imminent danger of being defeated or ſtarved. General Leſley, ſenſible of his advantage, reſolved to keep his ground, and watch the motions of the enemy; but the clamours of the miniſters who attended the camp, and boldly promiſed victory in the name of the Lord, excited ſuch a ſpirit of impatience among the ſoldiers that he was obliged to yield to the torrent, and put his army in motion to attack the Engliſh. Cromwell had ſpent his time in preaching, praying, and ſeeking the Lord, from whom, he ſaid, he received particular comforts and aſſurances, during the exerciſe of his devotion. On the ſecond day of September, perceiving the Scots in motion, he exclaimed, "The Lord hath delivered "them into our hands;" and ordered his army to ſing pſalms, as if he had already been aſſured of the victory. Indeed, he had no great reaſon to doubt of his ſucceſs againſt ſuch an enemy. He then advanced towards them, and next morning before day-light, began the attack. The Scottiſh cavalry

cavalry on the right wing made a vigorous charge; but were ſoon repulſed, broken, and put to flight: the left wing abandoned the field without engaging. Three regiments of their infantry ſtood until they were cut in pieces; but all the reſt fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Above three thouſand were ſlaughtered on the ſpot and in the purſuit: and among theſe ſome miniſters, in the very act of encouraging them with aſſurance of victory. Seven or eight thouſand were taken, together with ſeven and twenty pieces of cannon, all their baggage and ammunition; while, on the other hand, the Engliſh did not loſe above forty men in the engagement. Cromwell immediately took poſſeſſion of Leith and Edinburgh; but the caſtle held out till the latter end of December. A. C. 1650. Clarendon. Baker. Whitelock.

This defeat was far from being diſagreeable to the king, who reſided at St. Johnſton's. The Scotiſh parliament, which had excluded the Hamiltonians, and all the royaliſts, from the army over which Cromwell had obtained the victory, now ſaw the neceſſity of employing them for the preſervation of the kingdom; and therefore treated the king as a perſon of ſome importance to the commonweal. They reſolved that all thoſe who had been formerly excluded ſhould, upon proof of their repentance, be admitted to offices and employments in the ſtate and army. Great numbers did public pennance, that they might have an opportunity to ſerve their country; and the king ſoon ſaw his friends in a condition to exert themſelves for his intereſt. This change, however, was not effected without great oppoſition from the rigid party, who proteſted againſt the parliament's reſolution, and acquired the appellation of Proteſters, while the other ſide were termed Reſolutioners. The former, ſtrengthened by an aſſociation of the weſtern ſhires, Great animoſity in Scotland between the reſolutioners and proteſters.

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A.C. 1650. and joined by Strachan, Ker, and ſome other good officers, preſented a remonſtrance to the parliament, by which it was declared ſeditious; but, as this faction was very numerous, it was thought neceſſary to take ſome meaſure for their ſatisfaction. To this end, the king was obliged to publiſh a declaration, acknowledging the ſin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family; and that he was guilty of all the blood that had been ſhed in the civil war. He expreſſed a deep ſenſe of his own pernicious education, and the prejudices he had imbibed againſt the cauſe of God; he confeſſed all the former part of his life had been a courſe of enmity to the work of God; he profeſſed his repentance for having granted a commiſſion to Montroſe; and proteſted he would adhere to this declaration to the end of his life. It was not without the utmoſt reluctance that Charles complied with this expedient, which did not produce the deſired effect. The proteſters believed, that this extraordinaty ſtep, by which he voluntarily ſtigmatized his own family, was no other than a cover to ſome deſign which he had hatched againſt them. On this ſuppoſition, they engaged in a cloſer union among themſelves; and declared they would have no nearer communication with the reſolutioners, than with Cromwell and the Engliſh independents.

The king attempts to eſcape from the marquis of Argyle.

Charles, extremely chagrined to ſee he had expoſed himſelf to no purpoſe, aud very much diſſatisfied with his preſent ſituation, liſtened to a propoſal of the royaliſts, who ſollicited him to join them at Dundee, where he would find a conſiderable body in arms. He eſcaped in the night from St. Johnſton's; but at that place of rendezvous found only a very ſmall party in waiting; and, while he deliberated upon his next excurſion, he

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was overtaken by colonel Montgomery, whom Argyle had detached in purſuit of him with a troop of horſe. The king was obliged to return, not a little mortified at this diſappointment; but this attempt to eſcape had a good effect in his favour. The marquis of Argyle and the committee of the eſtates, were now alarmed with the apprehenſion, that the rigour with which he was treated, might reduce him to take ſome deſperate reſolution, perhaps that of joining the cavaliers, and involving the nation in a civil war. They therefore relaxed in their ſeverity; and even admitted him to ſome ſmall ſhare in the adminiſtration. A. C. 1650.

Charles perceiving that nothing effectual could be done for his ſervice without the concurrence of Argyle, who was at the head of the clergy, by whom the majority of the nation was directed, endeavoured to gain over that nobleman to his intereſt. He affected to treat him with uncommon affability and eſteem; and even hinted a deſire of eſpouſing his daughter. The marquis kept aloof, becauſe he knew the king's averſion to his principles; but his ſon lord Lorn, who was captain of the guard, attached himſelf to the king, and faithfully executed his private commiſſions. The ceremony of the coronation was performed at Scone on the firſt day of January; and, after that time, all perſons were indiſcriminately admitted into his majeſty's preſence. Levies were now ſet on foot, without diſtinction of parties; and an army of eighteen thouſand men was completed by the beginning of June, before Cromwell could take the field, ſo much was he retarded by want of forage. He is crowned at Scone. Clarenden. Burnet.

Charles appointed David Leſley his lieutenant-general, and putting himſelf at the head of his troops, took poſt at Torwood, between Edinburgh and Stirling, in a very advantageous ſituation, having at his back a plentiful country, from which he could Lambert, with a detachment of the Engliſh army, routs major-general Brown in Fife.

A. C. 1651. could be conveniently ſupplied with proviſion. All the paſſes of the Forth were ſtrongly guarded, and his camp ſurrounded with intrenchments, which ſecured him againſt any attack of the enemy. Cromwell marched up, and offered him battle; but the Scots had been rendered circumſpect by the experience of the preceding year, and would not quit their defences. After the two armies had ſa ed each other about ſix weeks, Cromwell detached colonel Overton with ſixteen hundred men towards Edinburgh, and they paſſed the Frith in boats provided for that purpoſe. He was immediately followed by Lambert with a more conſiderable body; and theſe two officers took poſt in the ſhire of Fife, while Cromwell favoured their deſcent by advancing to the king's intrenchments, as if he had intended to carry them by aſſault. The king no ſooner underſtood that the Engliſh had taken poſſeſſion of Fife, than he ſent major-general Brown, with four thouſand men, to give them battle; but he being totally routed by Lambert, Cromwell tranſported his whole army without further oppoſition. Though he had thus cut off the king's communication with Fife, from whence he had drawn his chief ſupplies of proviſion, this motion had left the frontiers of England expoſed; and even fruſtrated the purpoſe of the war, which was undertaken to prevent the king from marching into England.

The king marches into England, and is followed by Cromwell.

Charles therefore, inſtead of following Cromwell, who now made himſelf maſter of Perth, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of penetrating into England, where he did not doubt of being joined by a great number of royaliſts and preſbyterians. In that hope he took the route to Carliſle with all poſſible diſpatch, and had been ſeveral days on his march before Cromwell received the leaſt intimation of his deſign. This was the ſecond capital er-

ror

ror which Oliver had committed since he invaded Scotland; the first was, that of suffering himself to be cooped up at Dunbar, where nothing could have saved him from ruin but the egregious folly of the Scots, joined to their want of true courage and discipline. When he received intelligence of the king's march into England, he wrote an account of it to the parliament, assuring them he would soon be at the heels of Charles. He advised them, in the mean time, to arm the militia in all the different counties, that the royalists might be prevented from assembling, and he himself be reinforced at his arrival in England He detached Harrison and Lambert, with a strong body of horse, to harrass the king in his march: he left Monk and five thousand men in Scotland, with orders to reduce Stirling and Dundee; and then he began his march with great diligence, in hope of overtaking the king before he should reach London. A. C. 1651.

Charles had sent colonel Massey before him, with a detachment, to receive those who should join the royal standard; and he wrote to the earl of Derby to quit the Isle of Man, and meet him in Lancashire, where that nobleman had great interest; but events did not answer his expectation. The rigid presbyterians in his army deserted in great numbers, from a conscientious dislike to the service. The militia of England overawed the royalists; so that they could not rise in the king's behalf. The committee of the kirk, which followed the army, ordered Massey to publish a declaration, importing, that the king was a zealous friend to the covenant; and that such as refused to sign it would not be received in his army. Though the king forbad Massey to publish this declaration, the purport of it was so well known, that many cavaliers were deterred from joining their sovereign. The English

The earl of Derby defeated by colonel Lilburne.

A. C. 1651. Engliſh preſbyterians were extremely averſe to the king's being eſtabliſhed, until he ſhould have previouſly confirmed the conceſſions made by his father in the treaty of Newport. The earl of Derby having aſſembled twelve hundred men for the king's ſervice in Lancaſhire, was encountered by colonel Lilburne, on his march with a reinforcement to Cromwell; and defeated, after an obſtinate engagement, in which lord Withrington loſt his life.

The king takes poſt at Worceſter;

The king's army, inſtead of being augmented, was daily diminiſhed by deſertion and diſeaſe; ſo that he laid aſide his deſign of marching to London, and directed his route to Worceſter, where he thought he ſhould be able to refreſh and recruit his fatigued army, without running great riſque from the efforts of the enemy. He met with a cordial reception from the magiſtrates of the place, where he was ſolemnly proclaimed; and he quartered his troops in the neighbourhood. Mean while, Cromwell, being ſtrongly reinforced, called in his detachments, and advanced towards Worceſter, with an army greatly ſuperior in number to the royaliſts, who were encamped within a mile of the city, and waited the attack without flinching. Cromwell, reſolving to make a diverſion on the other ſide of the Severne, detached Lambert to paſs the river at the bridge of Upton, guarded by Maſſey, who defended it with great vigour, until he was ſeverely wounded and carried off; then the bridge was abandoned, and the enemy paſſed without further oppoſition, under the command of Fleetwood. Thus, the king was obliged to weaken his army, by ſending a detachment to the ſame ſide of the river.

where he is totally routed by Cromwell.

On the third day of September, the anniverſary of the battle at Dunbar, Cromwell attacked the royaliſts at both ends of the town; and the engagement

*DAVID LESLEY* General of the Scotch Army.

gagement lasted several hours, during which, the brigade commanded by the duke of Hamilton and general Middleton, fought with great gallantry, until Middleton was dangerously hurt, the duke mortally wounded, and the greatest part of his officers and soldiers disabled or slain. No other part of the royalists made the least resistance. The cavalry were immediately driven back into the town, which was filled with confusion and dismay. In vain did the king endeavour to rally and lead them back to the charge. They fled at full gallop; and being pursued by the enemy's horse, were killed, taken, or dispersed. The infantry, thus abandoned, were seized with consternation, and stood tamely to be butchered by the victors. Two thousand perished by the sword; and four times that number being taken, were sold as slaves to the American planters. The earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwath, Kelly, Derby, Cleveland, and general David Lesley, fell into the enemy's hands; and the duke of Hamilton died of his wounds, sincerely regretted by all good men, as a nobleman of unblemished worth and integrity. A. C. 1651. Clarendon. Whitelock.

The king retired from the field with Lesley, and a good body of horse; but, seeing them overwhelmed with consternation, and believing they could not possibly reach their own country, he withdrew himself from them in the night, with two or three servants, whom he likewise dismissed, after they had cut off his hair, that he might have the better chance for remaining unknown. By the direction of the earl of Derby, he went to Boscobel in Shropshire, where he was for some days entertained by four brothers of the name of Pendrell; three of these acted as scouts, while the fourth accompanied the king, who being disguised in the habit of a peasant, worked for some days at wood-cutting. Then Charles made an attempt to retire Charles conceals himself among the boughs of a spreading oak;

A. C. 1651. into Wales under the conduct of his companion; but the paſſes of the Severne were guarded in ſuch a manner, that he returned to Boſcobel, where he met with colonel Careleſs, who had, like himſelf, eſcaped from the battle of Worceſter. It was during his reſidence in this place, that they were obliged to climb a ſpreading oak, among the thick branches of which they paſſed that day together, beholding, and overhearing the converſation of ſeveral perſons, who went thither on purpoſe to ſearch for their unhappy ſovereign, that they might deliver him into the hands of his enemies. In the duſk of the evening, Careleſs conducted the king over hedges and ditches, for about eight miles, till they arrived at a cottage belonging to a poor Roman catholic peaſant, known to the colonel, who was himſelf of that religion. Their hoſt being told that the ſtranger was a cavalier who had eſcaped from Worceſter, conveyed him to a little barn almoſt filled with hay, among which the king enjoyed a profound ſleep, after the fatigue he had undergone in this laſt pilgrimage, which he had performed in his boots. But, before he went to reſt, it was thought proper that Careleſs ſhould retire, as the danger was the greater while they travelled together; and ſend ſome perſon in whom he could confide, to conduct the king to another place of ſecurity. Mean while he was entertained with coarſe bread and butter-milk, the beſt fare his landlord could provide, without incurring the ſuſpicion of his neighbours.

is conducted to a cottage, and lies in a barn;

After he had reſted two nights upon the haymow, a man came from Careleſs with directions to guide him to another houſe, more out of the way of viſitation, and at the diſtance of twelve miles. Before he ſet out on this nocturnal excurſion, he exchanged apparel with his hoſt, who in lieu of his boots, procured an old pair of ſhoes; but

undergoes ſurprizing hardſhips;

but they were so uneasy to his feet, that, after he had travelled in them a few miles, he threw them away and walked in his stockings, and these were soon torn with the hedges over which he passed. His feet were so wounded with thorns and sharp stones, and he was so exhausted with the fatigue of this dismal journey, that he several times threw himself on the ground in despair, chusing rather to be taken by his adversaries, than to proceed in such torture. His guide, however, used such remonstrances as encouraged him to repeat his efforts, and before morning he reached the place of his destination, where he was again lodged in a barn among straw, fed with the most homely fare, and supplied with shoes and stockings. From thence he was conveyed to a third house; and thus, for some days, he passed from one to another, through the habitations of poor Roman catholics, who concealed him with great fidelity. He received great assistance from one Mr. Huddlestone, a Benedictine monk, who provided him occasionally with a horse, and more decent apparel than the wretched garb he had hitherto worn. A. C. 1651.

This man effected an interview between his majesty and lord Wilmot, who was likewise concealed in that neighbourhood. Wilmot introduced him to Mr. Lane, a worthy gentleman, in the county of Stafford, in whose house he was conveniently accommodated. There he read the proclamation, by which a price of a thousand pounds was set upon his head, and the penalty of high-treason denounced against those who should harbour or conceal the person of Charles Stuart. He now deliberated with Mr. Lane about the means of escaping to France; and the son, who had been a colonel in his service, was admitted to the council. They agreed that, as the king wished to be in the western parts of the kingdom bordering upon the sea, he is cordially received by Mr. Lane of Staffordshire and rides before that gentleman's daughter to the neighbourhood of Bristol;

A. C. 1651. he ſhould ride before Mr. Lane's daughter to the neighbourhood of Briſtol, on a viſit to one Mrs. Norton, a friend and kinſwoman of this young lady. The journey could not be performed in leſs than four or five days; and there was a neceſſity for paſſing through many market-towns, where he might run the riſque of being known; nevertheleſs he reſolved to hazard the adventure. He was equipped with clothes and boots for the ſervice; and Mrs. Lane riding on the ſame horſe behind him, was attended by a ſervant in livery; while the colonel accompanied them at a diſtance, with a hawk and ſpaniels, on pretence of taking his diverſion. In this manner they ſet out in the month of October; and, at the houſe in which they lodged the firſt night, they were met by lord Wilmot, with whom they adjuſted the ſtages, in ſuch a manner that he was ſeldom ſeen in their company. On the morning of the fourth day, colonel Lane returned towards his father's houſe; and the king, with his conductreſs, arrived in ſafety at Mr. Norton's habitation. During this journey, it was her conſtant practice, when ſhe reached their lodgings for the night, to repreſent the king as a neighbour's ſon, who at the deſire of his father rode before her, that he might the ſooner recover of a quartan ague, with which he had been afflicted: on this pretence ſhe always provided a convenient bed-chamber, to which he retired, and thither ſhe herſelf carried his ſupper. He every day met people whoſe perſons he knew; and when he paſſed through Briſtol, he could not help turning out of his way, from an emotion of curioſity and riding round the place where the caſtle formerly ſtood. When they arrived at the houſe of Mr. Norton, the firſt perſon he ſaw was Dr. Gorges, one of his own chaplains, ſitting at the door, amuſing himſelf with ſeeing people play at bowls. Mrs. Lane, after

after the compliments of salutation had passed between her and Mrs. Norton, desired that a chamber might be provided for William, who was newly recovered of an ague. This being immediately prepared, the king, who had retired to the stable, on pretence of superintending his horse, was conducted to his apartment. The butler being sent to him with a mess of broth, no sooner beheld his countenance, than he fell on his knees; and, while the tears ran down his cheeks, exclaimed, "I am rejoiced to see your majesty." He had been falconer to Sir Thomas Jermyn, and was well acquainted with the physiognomy of Charles, who enjoined him secrecy even from Mr. Norton and his wife. He assured him of his fidelity, and scrupulously kept his word. After supper he was visited by Dr. Gorges, who now practised medicine, and came to offer his assistance in quality of physician. The king retired to the dark side of the room, where the doctor felt his pulse, asked divers questions concerning his health, bad him be of good chear, as the fever had left him, and withdrew. A.C. 1651.

finds a safe retreat in the house of Sir Francis Wyndham;

Having stayed some days in this place, he and lord Wilmot, who lodged in the neighbourhood, repaired to the house of colonel Francis Wyndham, where he was cordially received, and introduced to that gentleman's mother, a venerable matron, who had lost three sons and a grandson in the service of his majesty's father. While he remained in this agreeable retreat, one Mr. Ellison, a friend of the colonel, bespoke a bark at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, to convey two passengers into France. The ship-master appointed a place in the neighbourhood of that town, where they should come aboard. The king, lord Wilmot, and the colonel, rode to a small inn near the beach, but no vessel appeared; and, after they had waited all night in vain, they

is in imminent danger of being discovered near Lyme in Dorsetshire;

A. C. 1651. returned to Elliſon's houſe, which they had left the preceding day. This diſappointment was owing to the fear of the ſhip-maſter's wife, who ſuſpected her huſband of having engaged in ſome dangerous deſign, and declared ſhe would inform the magiſtrate againſt him, ſhould he attempt to leave his houſe before morning. The king made a very providential eſcape from the little inn at which he had lodged: it chanced to be a ſolemn faſt; and a fanatic weaver, who had ſerved in the parliament's army, was preaching againſt Charles Stuart in a chapel that fronted the houſe, where he actually ſat among other ſtrangers. A farrier, employed to inſpect the ſhoes of the horſes belonging to ſome of the paſſengers, took the liberty to examine that on which the king had travelled from the houſe of colonel Lane, in hope of finding further employment. He told the inn-keeper, that one of thoſe horſes had come from the north country; a circumſtance he pretended to know from the faſhion of the ſhoes. Then he repaired to the chapel; and, after the ſermon, communicated this particular to divers perſons of his acquaintance; at length it reached the ears of the preacher, who declared the rider could be no other than Charles Stuart.

embarks at Brighthelmſtead, and lands in Normandy.

He went immediately with a conſtable to the houſe; and, finding the ſtrangers were gone, hired horſes to go in purſuit of them. Charles returned to the houſe of Colonel Wyndham, from whence he was conducted to a place of greater ſecurity, in the neighbourhood of Saliſbury, prepared for his reception. He paſſed through a regiment of horſe, and met Deſborough walking down a hill, with ſeveral officers. While he ſtayed in the houſe of ſergeant Hyde, at Heale near Saliſbury, a veſſel was provided by means of Dr. Hinchman, a prebend of that cathedral. Colonel Gunter, a gentleman of Suſſex, procured the bark

Clarendon.

at

*JAMES* Earl of *DERBY*.

at Brighthelmſted, to which the king and lord Wilmot were conducted by Philips: there he embarked, and was ſafely landed in November at Feſcamp, in Normandy, after having undergone an amazing variety of danger and diſtreſſes, and experienced the unſhaken fidelity of forty different perſons of all ranks, to whom the preſervation of his life was intruſted *. A. C. 1651.

While Charles led this fugative life, his adverſaries triumphed in the ſucceſs of their uſurpation. In Scotland Monk reduced Stirling, where he found the records of that kingdom, which he ſent to London, from whence they never returned. Then he beſieged Dundee; which, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, he took by aſſault, maſſacred the garriſon and inhabitants, and abandoned the town to pillage. Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and many other places, ſurrendered on capitulation; and, in a little time, he ſubdued all the Low Countries of Scotland. The republic of England had now acquired ſuch reputation in foreign countries, that all the princes in Europe courted their friendſhip, and were afraid of giving any countenance or relief to the king, who lived in a wretched manner at Paris, by means of his mother's penſion, utterly neglected by the French king and the cardinal, whoſe ſcheme was to ingratiate themſelves with the parliament of England. Cromwell's intereſt and reputation had, by this time, riſen to ſuch a pitch, that he directed all the reſolutions of the houſe, and was in effect chief of the republic, as well as general of the forces. He returned to London in triumph, and was met at Acton by the ſpeaker of the houſe, accompanied by the mayor and ma- The earl of Derby is beheaded.

* This account of the king's eſcape, chiefly taken from Clarendon, who had it from the king himſelf, is different in ſome particulars from that which Mr. Pepyſs, ſecretary to the admiralty, afterwards wrote from his majeſty's own mouth.

A. C. 1651. giſtrates of London, in their formalities. General Maſſey was committed to the Tower, from whence he made his eſcape: the earl of Derby, being tried by a court-martial, was convicted of high treaſon, and beheaded at Boſton, where he died with great magnanimity: many other perſons of diſtinction were put to death by the ſame authority. The parliament ſent a body of forces to the iſle of Man, which they ſubdued; and the counteſs of Derby was reduced to extreme indigence, after ſhe had, with great gallantry, defended her lord's caſtle. This was the ſame lady who ſo bravely defended the Whitelock. houſe of Latham. She was of the noble houſe of Tremouille in France; a woman of a maſculine ſpirit, and had the honour of being the laſt Britiſh ſubject who ſubmitted to the victorious commonwealth. Jerſey was taken by admiral Blake and colonel Hayne for the parliament. Sir George Ayſcue ſubdued Barbadoes, of which lord Willoughby was governor for the king; and the iſles of Nevis and St. Chriſtophers ſubmitted at the firſt ſummons.

Scotland is incorporated with England. The parliament now paſſed an act, aboliſhing the royalty of Scotland, and incorporating that country with the Engliſh commonwealth, impowering it however to ſend a certain number of repreſentatives to the Britiſh parliament. Commiſſioners were ſent thither to regulate this union, in which the whole nation voluntarily acquieſced, except a few royaliſts who had retired to the mountains under the earl of Glencairn and lord Balcarras, and the clergy, who proteſted againſt the incorporation, becauſe it would produce a ſubordination of the church to the ſtate, in the things of Chriſt. All cauſes were determined by a mixture of Engliſh and Scottiſh judges. Juſtice was impartially Burnet. adminiſtered; peace and order were maintained by the prudent and upright conduct of general Monk,

who

who commanded the forces in that kingdom. The people, secured in their property, exercised themselves in the arts of industry; and, under this usurpation, they enjoyed infinitely more plenty and satisfaction than ever was known to their ancestors. A. C. 1651.

Prince Rupert, with his fleet, being obliged to quit Kinsale, steered to Portugal, and anchored in the river Tagus. Thither he was pursued by Blake, who could hardly be prevented, by the remonstrances of his Portuguese majesty, from attacking him in sight of Lisbon. The prince at length escaped, by the favour of that prince, and directed his course to the West-Indies, where his brother prince Maurice was shipwrecked in a hurricane. There he committed depredations on the ships of Spain and those of the republic; and, at last, returned to France, where he sold his prizes, together with the remains of his navy. Mean while Blake, in revenge for the partiality manifested by the king of Portugal, made prize of twenty Portuguese ships richly laden, and intimidated that monarch with menaces of further vengeance; so that he was fain to make submission to the republic, and they consented to a renewal of the alliance between England and Portugal. The conquest of Ireland was finished by Ireton the new deputy, who punished with great rigour all the prisoners who had been concernen in the massacre; and, among these, Sir Phelim Oneale suffered an ignominious death upon the gallows, which was a just judgment upon him for the unparalleled cruelties he had committed. After Limeric was reduced, Ireton died of the plague in that city: Cromwell expressed great sorrow, and the republicans were inconsolable at the death of this officer, who was a man of an inflexible, savage disposition, and an inveterate enemy to kingly government. His command devolved upon lieutenant-general Ludlow, who finished the war

Prince Rupert sails to the West-Indies.

Ireland reduced.

A. C. 1651. with uninterrupted ſucceſs. Clanrickard ſubmited to the parliament, and the civil government of the iſland was veſted in commiſſioners.

Whitelock.

Motives for a war with the Dutch.

The republic having now reduced the Britiſh dominions to obedience, reſolved to chaſtiſe the Dutch, againſt whom they had very ſlender cauſes of complaint. The prince of Orange had died in the courſe of the preceding year, leaving the princeſs far advanced in her pregnancy. Immediately after his death, the parliament ſent over Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, as ambaſſadors, to propoſe a cloſe defenſive alliance with the States-general. St. John's real aim was to effect a ſtrict union between the two commonwealths, and he dropped ſome hints on the ſubject; but he found the ſtates averſe to ſuch a near connexion with an unſettled government, which was odious to all the ſtates in Chriſtendom. He was even affronted by the friends of the young prince of Orange born ſince his father's death, and expoſed to the inſults of the populace, who were generally well affected to the family of Stuart. Incenſed at this treatment, he endeavoured, at his return, to excite a war againſt Holland, and even prevailed upon Cromwell to concur with his endeavours. Perhaps that politician thought it might be neceſſary to divert, by a foreign war, the attention of the people from conſidering the ſcheme of empire which he had now projected; and employ thoſe hands, which might become troubleſome from want of exerciſe. Some of thoſe who ſuſpected his deſigns upon the commonwealth, imagined that a war with the Dutch might diminiſh his influence, as the operations would be chiefly by ſea, and the expence of the navy oblige the parliament to diſband the army, which was altogether at Cromwell's devotion.

The parliament, having reſolved to humble the Dutch, paſſed the act of navigation, prohibiting all

all nations to import any merchandiſe into England, but what was the produce of the country to which the ſhips belonged. This ſtroke was directly levelled againſt the traffic of the Dutch, which conſiſted wholly in tranſporting foreign commodities from one country to another. The commonwealth granted letters of marque to divers merchants, who complained that their ſhips had been unjuſtly confiſcated in Holland; and they ripped up the old wound, occaſioned by the cruelties which had been perpetrated upon the Engliſh ſubjects, thirty years before, by the Hollanders at Amboyna. The States-general, alarmed at theſe meaſures, ſent ambaſſadors to London to ſolicit a repeal of the act of navigation: but the parliament, far from complying with their requeſt, demanded ſatisfaction for the maſſacre at Amboyna, the murder of Doriſlaus, the correſpondence, which, during the civil war, the Dutch ambaſſadors had maintained with the late king; and they claimed about two millions of money for the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the Dutch in the Eaſt-Indies, Perſia, Muſcovy, Greenland, and the iſle of Poleron. The Dutch perceived, by theſe demands, that the Engliſh were reſolved upon war; and they began to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, with all poſſible expedition. A. C. 1651. The States-general ſend ambaſſadors to London.

They ſoon equipped one hundred and fifty ſhips of war; and Martin Van Tromp, their admiral, was ſent into the channel with two and forty, to convoy their homeward-bound trading veſſels. On the ſeventeenth of May he fell in with the Engliſh fleet, on the road of Dover, conſiſting of ſix and twenty ſhips, commanded by Blake, who ordered ſeveral cannon without ſhot to be fired, as a ſignal for the Dutch to pay the uſual compliment of lowering their top-ſails to the Engliſh flag. Tromp payed no regard to theſe warnings; and Blake no A. C. 1652.

A. C. 1652. Sea engagement in the Downs between admiral Blake and Van Tromp.

sooner fired a ball at him, than he returned a whole broadside. The battle immediately began with great fury; Blake being reinforced by captain Bourne with eight ships during the engagement, maintained the fight from four in the afternoon till night, when Trump retired to the back of the Goodwin-sands, after having lost two ships, one of which was sunk, and the other taken. The English historians say, that none of Blake's ships were much damaged: whereas the Dutch pretend that six of them were actually sunk; and that, had not day-light failed, the English fleet would have been destroyed. If this was the case, Tromp ought to have kept his station, and next day renewed the engagement.

Declaration of war between the two republics.

The populace of London were so exasperated by the news of this battle, that they insulted the Dutch ambassadors; so that the parliament appointed a guard for their protection. These envoys, in an audience demanded for that purpose, affirmed that Blake was the aggressor; and Adrian Paw arriving at London, as an extraordinary ambassador, confirmed their allegation, by laying before the house Tromp's narrative of the action. He conjured them to enquire into the particulars of the affair; and if it should appear, that their admiral had actually refused to compliment the English-flag, and been the occasion of the battle, the States-general would punish him for his presumption. He intreated them, by the common ties of their religion and liberties, to listen to terms of accommodation; and appoint commissioners to renew the alliance between the two republics. They payed no regard to his remonstrances; and notwithstanding all his pretences, Tromp certainly sailed with a view to quarrel with the English fleet, which he hoped to crush by dint of his superiority in number; for it is not to be supposed, that Blake

Clarendon. Whitelock.

ADMIRAL BLAKE.

would have chosen to fight against such odds, without cause or provocation. The parliament having rejected the advances of the Dutch, and renewing their claims of satisfaction, the States-general recalled their ambassadors, and published a manifesto, declaring they had been attacked without cause by the parliament of England. An answer was made to this declaration, denying the charge; and specifying the injuries the English had sustained from the republic of Holland: among these they mentioned Tromp's refusing to acknowledge the flag of England; and to this article the Dutch replied, that although they had been willing, in the infancy of their commonwealth, to pay that mark of deference to the monarch of England, they did not think themselves obliged to observe such ceremony towards a people who were no longer ruled by a kingly government. A. C. 1652.

A drawn battle off Plymouth between Sir George Ayscue and De Ruyter.

They sent Van Galen with a squadron to the Mediterranean, against captain Badily, the English commodore in that sea. Tromp sailed towards the Downs, in order to engage rear-admiral Ayscue, who lay at anchor in that road with part of the English fleet; but, hearing that Blake had sailed northward with forty ships, to destroy the Dutch fishers and their convoy, on the coast of Shetland, he followed him with a very numerous armament. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Newcastle; but, when they were just ready to engage, a violent storm arose, and scattered the Dutch navy in such a manner, that not above forty ships returned with Tromp to Holland; tho' in a few weeks, the rest arrived at the Texel. Mean while Blake proceeded to the northward, destroyed a great number of Dutch herring busses, and took all their convoy. On the sixteenth of August, admiral de Ruyter, with four and thirty ships of war, and a large fleet of merchant ships under

A. C. 1652. under his convoy, fell in with Sir George Aſycue near Plymouth, who, though inferior in number to the enemy, engaged and fought them with great valour until night put an end to the engagement. The Engliſh admiral retired into Plymouth; and de Ruyter conducted his fleet in ſafety to Holland. Van Galen had before this time attacked and defeated commodore Badily in the Mediterranean, though the victor loſt his life in the action. Blake, on his return to the ſouthward, met with another Dutch fleet on the coaſt of Kent, commanded by De Witte and De Ruyter. A battle enſued, in which the rear-admiral of the enemy was boarded and taken, two of their ſhips were ſunk, one was blown up; and their fleet retired in the night, in a ſhattered condition, The Engliſh now equipped ſuch a formidable fleet, that the Dutch durſt not appear in the channel; ſo that a great number of their trading veſſels fell into the hands of the enemy; among theſe a fleet of forty ſail from Portugal, and ſix ſhips from the Eaſt-Indies, richly laden.

Blake worſted at the back of the Goodwin-ſands by Van Tromp and De Ruyter.

The ſtates, in order to prevent ſuch loſſes for the future, gave notice to their merchants that the homeward-bound trade ſhould repair to the iſle of Rhé, where they would find a convoy in waiting. Trump ſet ſail for this rendezvous, with ſeventy-ſeven ſhips of war, including the ſquadron of De Ruyter; and, on the twenty-ninth day of November, was encountered by Blake with an inferior fleet, near the Goodwin-ſands, where a deſperate battle was fought from eight in the morning till night. Blake was wounded, two of his ſhips were taken, as many burned, one was ſunk; and the darkneſs opportunely interpoſed to ſave him from deſtruction. He took that opportunity of retiring into the Downs; and Tromp, elated with his victory, continued his voyage with a broom fixed to his

his maintop-maſt, as a ſignal that he would ſweep the channel clear of the enemy. A. C. 1653.

The Engliſh in order to retrieve the laurels they had loſt in this engagement, equipped a fleet of eighty ſail; and the parliament, at the deſire of Blake, ſent for Monk from Scotland, to join him in the command, Dean acting as rear-admiral. They ſailed down the channel, in order to intercept Tromp and De Ruyter, on their return from the iſle of Rhé, with a fleet of ſeventy-ſix ſail, having above three hundred merchant ſhips under their convoy. The Engliſh deſcried them by break of day, on the eighteenth of February, ſteering along the coaſt of France; and immediately bore down to give them battle. The Dutch admirals lay by to receive them, and they ſoon joined in a moſt furious battle, during which the commanders on both ſides exerted equal ſkill, conduct, and intrepidity; the ſailors of each nation fighting with ſurpriſing courage and perſeverance. The engagement was renewed for three days ſucceſſively; and at laſt, Trump, though overpowered with numbers, and ſuperior weight of metal, made a very honourable retreat with his whole convoy, except thirty veſſels which fell into the hands of the Engliſh. He loſt, however, eleven ſhips of war; two thouſand of his men were ſlain, and fourteen hundred taken; but the Engliſh fleet was ſo ſhattered in the battle, that they could not pretend to chace him up the channel; and the victory coſt them a good number of men and officers. The States-general had incurred ſuch an enormous expence in the maintenance of this war, and their trade had ſuffered ſo ſeverely by the Engliſh cruiſers, that all Holland was filled with complaint and conſternation; and they thought proper to make new conceſſions to the haughty republic, which ſeemed bent on their deſtruction. The ſtates of Holland wrote a letter to Lenthall the ſpeaker,

These are defeated, after a deſperate engagement with the Engliſh fleet commanded by Monk and Deane.

Whitelock. Clarendon.

A. C. 1653. ſpeaker, propoſing an accommodation; and this being favourably anſwered, the States-general, in a formal addreſs to the parliament, deſired they would pleaſe to appoint a place where they might treat of a pacification: but before this negotiation could be ſet on foot, a ſtrange revolution happened in England.

Cromwell reſolves to make himſelf abſolute.

Cromwell by this time perceived that the parliament dreaded his ambition; and that, under pretence of maintaining a ſea-war, they aimed at a diſſolution of the land-army. He knew that they had rendered themſelves odious to the nation by their arbitrary proceedings and extortion. There was no occaſion for his employing much reflection with reſpect to his own conduct on this occaſion. He conſulted with his officers, who were ſtaunch to his intereſt; and they preſented a petition to the houſe, demanding the payment of their arrears, and affirming, that the public revenue, if rightly and honeſtly managed, would be ſufficient for the regular ſubſiſtence of the army, as well as for all the other neceſſary expences of the government. The parliament ordered the officers to be reprimanded for this inſolent addreſs; and forbid to intermeddle in the adminiſtration. Then the petitioners produced another remonſtrance, importing, that the members had not performed their promiſe of diſſolving their aſſembly, that there might be a regular ſucceſſion of parliaments: they therefore deſired they would put an end to their adminiſtration, after having convoked another parliament; and named a council of ſtate to adminiſter affairs in the mean time. This propoſal was ſeconded by all the members who enjoyed employments in the army, as well as by the preſbyterians who had been admitted into the houſe, in conſequence of having ſworn to the engagement; but the majority was of a different opinion. They reſolved,

solved, That it was not a proper time to dissolve the parliament while the nation had a war, and a great variety of important affairs upon its hands; but that the vacant seats should be filled by new elections. At the same time, they appointed a committee to prepare a bill for an act, prohibiting all persons to present such petitions, on pain of being deemed guilty of high treason. A. C. 1653.

Cromwell was sitting in council with his officers, when Ingoldsby entering the apartment, made him acquainted with the subject of the parliament's deliberations. He forthwith started up, with marks of violent indignation in his countenance, and hastened to the house with a detachment of three hundred soldiers, whom he posted at the door, and in the lobby. Then he entered, and addressing himself to his friend St. John, told him, he was come to do that, which, to his great grief of soul, the Lord had imposed upon him. After having sat some time to hear the debates, when the speaker was about to put the question, he suddenly rose up, and, in the most opprobrious terms, reviled them for their ambition, tyranny, extortion, and robbery of the public. After this torrent of general obloquy, he stamped upon the floor, and the soldiers entered the house; then addressing himself to the members, "Get you gone (said he) give "place to honest men; you are no longer a par- "liament; I tell you, you are no longer a parlia- "ment; the Lord has done with you." Sir Henry Vane rising up to remonstrate against this outrage, Cromwell exclaimed, "O, Sir Harry "Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me "from Sir Harry Vane!" He took hold of Martin by the cloak, saying, "Thou art a whoremaster." Another he reproached as an adulterer; a third as a drunkard; and the fourth as an extortioner. "It is you (added he) that have forced me upon "this. He dissolves the parliament by force.

A. C. 1653. "this. I have fought the Lord night and day, "that he would rather ſlay me, than put me upon "this work." Pointing to the mace, he bade a ſoldier "Take away this bauble." He turned out all the members, ordered the door to be locked; and putting the key in his pocked, retired to his lodgings in Whitehall. Thus, by one daring exploit, which he atchieved without bloodſhed or clamour, the new republic was aboliſhed; and the whole power of three kingdoms, civil and military, united in his own perſon.

Clarendon. Whitelock. Ludlow.

Account of Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, of a good family, though he inherited but a ſmall eſtate from his father. Far from making any proficiency in his ſtudies at the univerſity, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his diſſolute courſe of life, conſuming his time and fortune in gaming, riot, and debauchery. At length, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a ſpirit of religious enthuſiaſm. He profeſſed a reformation of manners; his deportment became ſerious and ſedate; he choſe for himſelf a ſober helpmate; and ſeemed to vie in holineſs with the wildeſt zealots of the puritanical party. His houſe was converted into a conventicle; and his fortune was ſoon waſted by his hoſpitality to the brethren. Then he commenced farmer at St. Ives; but neglected his temporal affairs, by indulging his religious reveries and illuminations. Inſpired by theſe viſions, and prompted by the neceſſity of his affairs, he reſolved to tranſport himſelf into New-England with his friend John Hambden, that they might, in that land of Revelation, enjoy unmoleſted their ſpiritual tranſports; but after they had actually embarked, they were obliged to land again by an order of council. His obſtinacy and reſolution firſt appeared in oppoſing the earl of Bedford, who, by a patent from the crown, drained part of the fen-country near the iſle of Ely. When his

his circumſtances were extremely low, he found means to be elected member of the long parliament for the town of Cambridge; and though the ſpirit frequently moved him to ſpeak in the houſe, his elocution was ſo harſh, vulgar, confuſed, tedious, and obſcure, that he was not, for two years heard with any attention, but overlooked among the heard of ignorant zealots; though John Hambden had ſounded the depth of his genius; and foretold his future greatneſs. On the day after the famous remonſtrance had been carried by a very ſmall majority, he told lord Falkland, that if they had not gained their point, he and many other honeſt gentlemen would have ſold their effects, and quitted the kingdom. He was certainly at that time a zealous republican; and acted againſt the king from principle. In the forty-third year of his age, he raiſed a troop of horſe, and ſoon ſignalized himſelf by his proweſs and military conduct. This troop he augmented to a regiment; and, by means of diſcipline, example, prayer, and exhortation, infuſed his own ſpirit into every individual under his command. Inſtead of broken tapſters, decayed ſerving-men, and the very loweſt claſs of the people, that compoſed the forces firſt raiſed by the parliament, he enliſted freeholders, and farmers ſons, who fought from principle. Among theſe, he intermingled ſome of the moſt zealous fanatics in England, who in a little time propagated the contagion through the whole regiment; while Oliver himſelf preached, prayed, and puniſhed alternately, ſo as to eſtabliſh a ſurpriſing ſyſtem of diſcipline and enthuſiaſm. He was now exalted to that ſphere in which his talents ſhone to the greateſt advantage. In courage and conduct he equalled the moſt renowned of his cotemporaries; but he excelled them all in fraud and diſſimulation. By A. C. 1653.

A.C. 1653. theſe qualities he gained the aſcendency over Fairfax, while he was no more than the ſecond officer in the army. His views were expanded by ſucceſs: his firſt principles of republican equality ſhrunk before the flame of his ambition; and having taſted the ſweets of unlimited command, he now aſpired at the ſovereign authority.

Aims of different parties.

The people expreſſed little or no reſentment at the diſſolutiou of the parliament. On the contrary, he received congratulatory addreſſes from the fleet, the army, the chief corporations and counties, and from divers congregations of the ſaints in different parts of the kingdom. The royaliſts and preſbyterians were pleaſed at the ſubjection of a party which had ruined the king's friends, and expelled the others from parliament. The independent faction at this time included two ſects, which, though concurring in republican principles, differed widely in every other ſentiment. Theſe were the millenarians or fifth monarchy-men, and the deiſts. The firſt, which was the moſt numerous party, affirmed that dominion was founded on grace: that all diſtinction of magiſtracy ought to be aboliſhed, except the authority acquired by ſuperior piety and holineſs; they expected Chriſt's ſecond coming; and that, in the mean time, the ſaints ſhould govern upon earth. The deiſts were the aſſertors of unbounded liberty, both in religion and governmeut; at leaſt they claimed more freedom than they could expect to enjoy under any regular adminiſtration. Martin, Harrington, and Sidney, were the leaders of this claſs, which Cromwell hated, becauſe, being free of fanaticiſm, they were not within the ſphere of his operation. Theſe he reproached as heathens; but attached himſelf to the millenarians, upon whoſe enthuſiaſm he could work with the utmoſt facility.

Hume.

Though

A. C. 1653.

Though he had already assumed the supreme authority, he thought proper to amuse them with the appearance of a commonwealth. He first of all justified his conduct in dissolving the parliament, by a declaration signed by all the principal officers of the fleet and army. Then he resolved, with their concurrence, that the sovereign power should be vested in one hundred and forty-four persons, under the denomination of a parliament. Nothing could be more dextrous than Cromwell's choice of these members, who were wretches of the lowest birth, and meanest intellects, so entirely devoid of knowledge and experience in affairs, that he foresaw they would soon be obliged to resign the reins they were so ill qualified to manage. He sent a written order to each in particular, requiring him to repair to Whitehall on the fourth day of July, when, after having harangued them in a tedious, confused discourse, he delivered to them an instrument on parchment, signed by himself, and the principal officers of the army, importing, That the whole, or any forty of them, should be vested with sovereign power to govern the nation: That all the subjects of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be bound to obey them till the third day of November, in the following year: That, before the expiration of this term, they should elect a like number of representatives to succeed them in the sovereign authority for one year; and that, for the future, there should be an annual rotation of parliaments. Thus authorised, they voted themselves a parliament, chose Mr. Rouse for their speaker; and being chiefly composed of fifth-monarchy men, anabapists, antinomians, and independents, they chose eight-gifted members to seek the Lord in prayer. They began the exercise of their function, by deliberating upon the abolition of the clergy, the tithes, the universities, the court of chancery,

Cromwell convokes the Barebone parliament.

A. C. 1653. and the common law, in lieu of which they intended to eſtabliſh the Moſaical inſtitution. The fanatics of this age ſeemed particularly attached to the Old Teſtament, from which they borrowed the names they commonly beſtowed upon their children: the appellations of James, John, Peter, and Andrew, were now rejected for thoſe of Hezekiah, Habakkuk, Joſhua, and Zerobabel. Whole ſentences were ſometimes uſed as chriſtian names, ſuch as "Stand faſt on high, Stringer; Fight the good "fight of faith, White; God reward, Smart;" the Ten Commandments were included in the prenomen of one perſon; and one of the moſt remarkable members of this parliament was a praying leatherſeller called "Praiſe God, Barebones."

Whitelock. Clarendon.

A ſea engagement on the coaſt of Flanders, in which the Engliſh have the advantage.

The provinces of Holland and Zealand finding themſelves grievouſly diſtreſſed by the war, and the progreſs they had made towards a negotiation being fruſtrated by the diſſolution of the parliament, the States-general now appointed four ambaſſadors to treat with the new legiſlature of England. While they were employed in drawing up inſtructions for theſe envoys, admiral Tromp, with an hundred ſhips, fell in with the Engliſh fleet commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawſon. They engaged on the third day of June, near the coaſt of Flanders, and fought with equal courage, until night parted them. Dean was killed in the action; nevertheleſs the Engliſh renewed the battle next day; and the Dutch were obliged to retire with great loſs: for, towards the latter end of the engagement, the Engliſh were reinforced by Blake, with eighteen ſail of freſh ſhips. The victors purſued them to the coaſt of Holland, and totally interrupted the Dutch commerce, until the gallant Tromp had refitted his ſhips, and thought himſelf in a condition to face the enemies of his country.

8

Though

Though ſtill inferior in ſtrength to the Engliſh, he hoiſted ſail, and bore down upon them as they lay off the Texel. On the twenty-ninth of July, the two fleets attacked each other with uncommon impetuoſity; and the battle raged from morning till night without any ſenſible advantage to either ſide. Next day, Trump being joined by ſeven and twenty ſhips, engaged anew; and, during that whole day, the victory continued in ſuſpence. Tromp being reſolved to conquer or die, renewed the battle on the third day, and was ſhot through the heart with a muſket-ball, while he ſtood upon the deck, with his ſword drawn, encouraging his men with the moſt heroic ardour. The death of this great man diſcouraged his officers from continuing the engagement; and vice-admiral De Witzen bore away, after having loſt thirty ſhips, that were either ſunk or taken. Among the priſoners was vice-admiral Evertzen. The Engliſh purchaſed this victory with the loſs of two ſhips, and about five hundred men, including ſome officers of diſtinction. A. C. 1653. Another more deſperate, off the Texel, in which Van Tromp is ſlain, and the Dutch fleet defeated. Whitelock.

Cromwell ordered the fleet to be repaired with incredible diſpatch, that he might take advantage of the conſternation produced among the Dutch by the death of Tromp, and the ruin of their navy. But his armament was diſperſed and ſhattered by a violent ſtorm; and, rather than load the people with new impoſitions, which might have excited a dangerous clamour at ſuch a juncture, he determined to conclude a peace with the States-general. The negotiation was accordingly begun, and continued during the whole winter. The Dutch ambaſſadors at firſt met with a very diſagreeable reception from the new parliament, which conſidered the Hollanders as wordly-minded men, whom the ſaints were under the neceſſity of eradicating from the face of the earth, before they could begin Negotiation with the Dutch.

A. C. 1653. the work of ſubduing antichriſt. This aſſembly of fanatics had now ſat five months, without doing any thing of importance; and, during that time, they became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation. The people exclaimed againſt ſuch a fooliſh legiſlature; and Cromwell was the better pleaſed at theſe expreſſions of diſcontent, as the parliament, forgetting that they had derived all their authority from him alone, began to pretend a power from the Lord, and to inſiſt upon their divine commiſſion. He had taken the precaution to mingle his own creatures among the other members of this aſſembly; and theſe were ever ready to obey his ſecret injunctions.

The parliament ſurrender their power to Cromwell,

On the twelfth day of December, Rouſe the ſpeaker, and the reſt of Oliver's dependents, meeting at the houſe earlier than they uſed to aſſemble, one of them roſe up and propoſed, that, as they were unable to bear the burden that was laid upon them, they ſhould diſſolve the parliament, and reſign their authority to thoſe from whom it had been received. This propoſal being approved by the majority, they forthwith repaired to Cromwell and his council of officers, and reſigned the inſtrument of government; declaring themſelves unequal to the taſk, which they had unwarily undertaken. General Harriſon, with about twenty other enthuſiaſts, remaining in the houſe, placed one Moyer in the chair, that the reign of the ſaints might not be interrupted, and began to draw up proteſts againſt the proceedings of their brethren. Colonel White entering the houſe with a detachment of ſoldiers, "Aſked what they did there?" And, when they anſwered, "We are ſeeking the Lord:" "Then you may go elſewhere (ſaid he) for, to "my certain knowledge, he has not been here "theſe ſeveral years."

The

The council of officers, by virtue of the authority which the parliament had resigned into their hands, declared that the power of the government should be vested in the person of Oliver Cromwell, with the title of Protector; and that he should be assisted by a council of one and twenty persons. On the sixteenth day of December, they assembled the commissioners for the great-seal, with the mayor and aldermen of London; and, after having informed them of Cromwell's being chosen protector, they recited, in their hearing, a writing, intitled, The Act of Government. It imported, That the protector should convoke a parliament once in three years: That no parliament should be dissolved, till after it had sat five months: That the protector should approve all the acts of parliament within twenty days after their being presented, otherwise they should be passed without his assent: That his council should not exceed the number of one and twenty persons; and that, immediately after his death, the council should chuse a new protector: That no succeeding protector should be general of the army; but that he should have the power of peace and war: and that he should be authorized to enact laws, by the advice of his council, during the intervals of parliament. This act being rehearsed, Oliver took an oath to observe it; then he was conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, Lambert carrying the sword of state before him. He was honoured with the epithets of "Your "Highness," and "My Lord Protector;" and he was proclaimed in London, as well as in other parts of the three kingdoms, which were now united under his government. A. C. 1653. who is chosen protector. Whitelock. Clarendon. Baker.

The negotiation for a treaty with Holland was at length brought to a period; and Cromwell did not fail to take advantage of the eagerness with which the enemy desired an accommodation. By A. C. 1654. Peace with Holland.

A. C. 1654. the treaty they conſented to pay the compliment to the Britiſh flag: They abandoned the intereſt of Charles: They engaged to pay eighty-five thouſand pounds, as indemnification for loſſes, and reſtore the iſle of Polerone to the Engliſh Eaſt-India company. Among the firſt acts of Cromwell's ſovereignty was the execution of Mr. Vowel and colonel Gerard, two cavaliers, who had hatched a conſpiracy againſt his life: they were tried and found guilty by an high-commiſſion court, which now took the place of juries. Vowel was hanged and Gerard beheaded on Tower-hill. The ſame ſcaffold ſerved for the execution of Don Pantaleon Sa, knight of Malta, and brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador. He had come upon the New-exchange with armed attendants, in queſt of this very Gerard, by whom he had been affronted on the preceding day. He miſtook another man for the colonel, and aſſaſſinated him on the ſpot. Several perſons were wounded in the ſcuffle, by his attendants. He retired to his brother's houſe, which was immediately ſurrounded by the populace, who demanded the murderer, and threatened to drag him out by violence. Cromwell being informed of the tranſaction, ſent a party of ſoldiers for the ſame purpoſe; and the ambaſſador was obliged to deliver up his brother, with all his aſſociates. He was forthwith committed to the Tower; and the protector lent a deaf ear to all the remonſtrances and intreaties of the ambaſſador. Don Pantaleon ſuffered decapitation, and all his accomplices were hanged at Tyburn. John IV. king of Portugal complained of this outrage upon the law of nations; but he received no ſatisfaction, and yet forbore to recal his ambaſſador.

The brother of the Portugueſe ambaſſador beheaded for murder.

Charles II. had offered to ſerve on board the Dutch fleet during the war; but the States declined the propoſal. He ſtill remained at Paris, ſubſiſting

*DE BURGH* Marquis of *CLANRICARDE*.

sisting on a miserable pension from the court of France, which was very ill paid; and now he had the mortification to see monsieur Bordeux appointed ambassador to the protector of England. From this circumstance he concluded, that he should be obliged to quit France; and, in order to save himself the disgrace of a formal dismission, he gave notice to Mazarine that he intended to retire from the French dominions. The cardinal was glad to find himself thus anticipated: he promised to pay up the arrears, and continue his pension; and the king received at that time another small supply which enabled him to remove himself with decency. Prince Rupert had just arrived at Nantz, and his fleet being sold to the cardinal, Charles touched the money. The prince retired to Germany, and the king fixed his residence at Cologne. A. C. 1654. The king retires to Cologne. Clarendon.

Thither he was followed by the marquis of Ormond, who had left Clanrickard as his deputy in Ireland. The Irish of Ulster refused to obey this nobleman, although he was a catholic. They chose a council, which they vested with the administration of their affairs; and sent deputies to the duke of Lorraine, with an offer to put him in possession of Ireland: but this he declined, because he looked upon their affairs as desperate. Clanrickard finding it impossible to do any thing for the king's service, obtained his majesty's permission to quit that kingdom; and left the Irish catholics exposed to all the severity of the English commanders, who retaliated the cruelties they had exercised upon the protestants. Many died by the hands of the common executioner; a great number perished by famine; above one hundred thousand were permitted to go and serve foreign princes. The families that remained were chiefly transported into the province of Connaught, where a small pittance of land was allotted for their subsistence; while their estates were Misery of the native Irish. Whitelock.

A. C. 1654 were either divided among the soldiers and adventurers who had contributed to the expence of the war, or confiscated and sold for the benefit of the English republic. Fleetwood, who married Ireton's widow, was promoted to the government of the island; but he was afterwards succeeded in that command by Henry Cromwell, second son of the protector.

Date.

Cromwell calls a new parliament,

Cromwell, according to the act of government, issued out writs for a new parliament, excluding however all those who had carried arms for the king. They met on the third day of September, and the protector harangued them in the Painted-chamber. He informed them of the steps he had taken for modelling the new government; assured them of his upright intentions; recapitulated what he had done for the nation; told them he had convoked a free parliament; and that he did not pretend to be their master, but their fellow-labourer. Notwithstanding all the pains he had taken to procure a favourable parliament, he soon found himself disappointed in his endeavours. They chose Lenthall their speaker, at his recommendation; but their first deliberations were employed in examining the nature of that authority by which they had been convoked. Cromwell had too many friends in the house to believe this inquiry would be brought to any determination; nevertheless, he would not tamely suffer his power to become the subject of dispute. He therefore summoned them to the Painted-chamber, where he talked to them in a stile quite different from that which he had used in his first harangue. He said, they assumed too much liberty in questioning the established government, from whence they derived all their authority; for, if they were not lawfully assembled, they had no power to deliberate. At their return to the house, they found a guard at the

the door, which would not suffer any member to enter, until he had signed a recognition, by which he promised to be faithful to the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that he would never consent to a change in the government, established under a protector and parliament. A good number who refused to subscribe this engagement were excluded by the house; and many signed it with no other view than that of having opportunities to thwart his measures. Several members engaged in a conspiracy, formed chiefly by the cavaliers, to take arms in different parts of the kingdom. Cromwell having received intelligence of this scheme from his spies, anticipated the purpose of his enemies, by dissolving the parliament eleven days before the expiration of the term fixed by the act of government; and he gave them to understand, at parting, that he knew several members were engaged in a plot against the administration. A. C. 1654. which is quickly dissoved. Baker. Clarendon.

In two days after their dissolution, he ordered major Wildam to be arrested, and found upon him a declaration, containing the reasons that ought to induce the English people to take arms against the usurper Cromwell. Some other persons, republicans as well as royalists, were apprehended on the same account. The king had received frequent intimations from his friends in England, that the government of the protector was odious to the whole nation; and he concluded, that all the enemies of Cromwell were well-wishers to him and his family; though this was a very false conclusion. The royalists, on the supposition that they would be joined by the presbyterians for the king's restoration, and in all probability by the army, which was now discontented with Cromwell, formed the plan of two insurrections. This was communicated to Charles, who approved the scheme, order- A. C. 1655.

ed

A. C. 1655. ed the neceſſary commiſſions to be expedited; and the day being fixed, repaired incognito to Zealand, that he might be at hand, in caſe the enterprize ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs. Wilmot, now created earl of Rocheſter, and Sir Joſeph Wagſtaff came over privately to London. In a conſultation with the royaliſts, it was agreed, that the earl ſhould conduct the undertaking in the north; and that Wagſtaff ſhould command the inſurrection in the weſt. He accordingly ſet out for Sarum; and having joined Mr. Penruddock, Jones, and Grove, who had aſſembled about two hundred horſe, entered Saliſbury in time of the aſſize. They took poſſeſſion of the gates and the market-place, ſeized the judges and ſheriff; and proclaimed king Charles: but finding themſelves diſappointed in their expectation of being joined by the inhabitants, they quitted the town, and retreated to the weſtward. Being purſued by a troop of horſe that happened to be quartered in that neighbourhood, they were ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they threw down their arms and ſurrendered. Wagſtaff eſcaped; but Penruddock, Jones, and Grove, were taken and executed. The earl of Rocheſter finding nothing prepared for a riſing in Yorkſhire, thought proper to poſtpone the attempt; and found means to retire to the continent. Charles about this time diſcovered, that all his meaſures had been for ſome time betrayed by one of his own domeſtics, called Manning, who maintained a correſpondence with Thurloe the protector's ſecretary; and this traitor was ſhot in the caſtle belonging to the duke of Newburgh. All oppoſition was now at an end, in Scotland as well as in England. The earl of Glencairn, who commanded the Highlanders that ſtood out for the king, had made his peace with the government; and Middleton, who ſucceeded him in that command, was in the courſe of

Inſurrection of the royaliſts in the weſt, under Sir Joſeph Wagſtaff.

Clarendon. Whitelock.

of the laſt year totally defeated by a detachment of Monk's army under Morgan. A. C. 1655

Oliver, at length, found leiſure to convert his attention to the affairs of the continent. The famous war of Germany, which had raged for thirty years, in conſequence of the palatine's having raſhly accepted the crown of Bohemia, was now terminated by the peace of Weſtphalia. The young palatine was reſtored to part of his dominions; and the rights and privileges of the members that compoſe the Germanic body were fixed and aſcertained. Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden, to whoſe valour the proteſtant intereſt in the empire had been ſo much indebted, was ſucceeded on the throne by his daughter Chriſtina; and that princeſs, tired of the fatigues of royalty, had reſigned the crown to her kinſman Charles Guſtavus, who trod in the ſteps of the great Adolphus; and extended his conqueſts to the ſouth ſide of the Baltic. In France, cardinal Richelieu had fomented the troubles againſt Charles I. of England, that he might not interfere with the cardinal's deſign of humbling the houſe of Auſtria. His ſucceſſor Mazarine purſued the ſame plan of politics too far; for, inſtead of ſupporting the balance between the king and parliament, he ſuffered Charles to be depreſſed, and a much more formidable power to riſe from his ruins. He ſacrificed the intereſts of Charles II. to his fear of diſobliging the commonwealth, by which he was ſo little regarded, that their fleet attacked the French navy on their way to the relief of Dunkirk, which was beſieged by the Spaniards. The cardinal digeſted the inſult; and ſent an ambaſſador to London, to ſolicit the friendſhip of the republic. With reſpect to Charles I. the court of Spain had manifeſted the ſame inglorious indifference, or rather countenanced the ambaſſador Cardenas in a ſcandalous partiality

Cromwell reſolves to wage war with the Spaniards.

A. C. 1655. ality for the parliament. Since the martyrdom of that unhappy prince, they had indeed received lord Cottington and chancellor Hyde, as ambaſſadors from young Charles; but they received them coldly, and diſappointed them in the purport of their embaſſy, which was to obtain ſome aſſiſtance for their neceſſitous prince. Aſcham, ſent thither by the parliament, as their envoy, was aſſaſſinated by ſome Iriſh officers at Madrid; and the court of Spain either could not or would not deliver up the perpetrators of this outrage, though one of them actually ſuffered by the hands of juſtice. Perhaps this incident might irritate the reſentment of the protector. He ought, according to the dictates of ſound policy, to have ſupported the declining fortunes of Spain againſt the victorious houſe of Bourbon; but he had concluded a treaty with Charles X. of Sweden, who was nearly connected with France; and he was unwilling to take any ſtep which might diſoblige his new ally, whoſe friendſhip he had eagerly courted. Beſides, Cromwell was influenced by religious motives. He thought his alliance with France would enable him to procure ſome indulgence for the proteſtants of that kingdom. He looked upon the Spaniards as a people bigotted to the ſuperſtitions of popery, and ſlaves to the inquiſition, which he abhorred. Thoſe religious prejudices form a ſtrong contraſt in the character of this great uſurper. He thought it neceſſary to gild the morning of his protectorſhip with ſome ſignal exploit. He thirſted after the wealth of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; he was importuned and flattered by the ſubtle Mazarine: and, on theſe conſiderations, he determined to wage war with the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria.

Penn and Venables make an unſucceſsful attempt on St. Domingo.

Immediately after his elevation to the protectorſhip, he ſent Blake with a fleet into the Mediterranean, to chaſtiſe the corſairs of Algier, who had committed

committed depredations on the Engliſh traders. A. C. 1655.
Another, having on board Venables with five thouſand ſoldiers, ſet ſail for the Weſt-Indies, under the command of admiral Penn, to whom Cromwell delivered his orders ſealed up, that he ſhould not know their purport until he had reached a certain latitude. By theſe he was directed to make a deſcent upon the iſland of Hiſpaniola; and attack the capital St. Domingo. In April they deſcried the iſland; and at ſight of their fleet the Spaniards abandoned their town; but when they ſaw Venables landing his ſoldiers at a conſiderable diſtance from the place, they recovered their ſpirits, returned to their habitations, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The Engliſh were ſo fatigued by a long march in a hot climate, without water to quench their thirſt, that when they arrived at St. Domingo, they could hardly ſtand under their arms. They were immediately repulſed, and obliged to reimbark with precipitation, leaving on the iſland a conſiderable number of their men killed and wounded. After this miſcarriage, the fleet ſteered to Jamaica, which they conquered, almoſt without oppoſition. Having left ſome troops in this iſland, they returned to England; and the protector was ſo exaſperated at their having failed in the attempt upon Hiſpaniola, that he ordered Penn and Venables to be ſent priſoners to the Tower. Nevertheleſs, he took care to reinforce the garriſon at Jamaica; and that iſland ſoon became a flouriſhing colony.

but take the iſland of Jamaica.

Baker. Clarendon. Thurloe.

The king of Spain was no ſooner informed of theſe hoſtilities, than he iſſued orders for confiſcating all the effects belonging to the Engliſh in his dominions; and the Spaniſh trade fell into the hands of the Hollanders: ſo that they were ſoon indemnified for the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the war with England. On the twenty-third day of October, Oliver publiſhed the peace with France, which

Oliver engages in a league with France.

A. C. 1655. which was no other than a renewal of antient treaties. Knowing how much he was hated by the royaliſts, preſbyterians, independents, and even by ſome officers of diſtinction in the army; he thought he could not be too much on his guard againſt inſurrection, and took his precautions accordingly. On pretence of keeping the cavaliers in awe, he divided England into eleven provinces; and each of theſe he aſſigned to a major general, who governed without controul. Theſe officers, veſted with unlimited powers, became real tyrants; and oppreſſed the people in ſuch a manner, that the protector was obliged to abridge their authority.

A. C. 1656. Blake deſtroys the Spaniſh galleons at the bay of Santa Cruz,

In the mean time, Blake being joined by Montague, cruiſed for ſome time off Cadiz, in hope of intercepting the plate-fleet from the Weſt-Indies; but they were obliged by want of water to ſteer for Portugal, leaving captain Stayner with ſeven ſhips on the ſtation. This officer in a few days deſcried the galleons, to which he gave chace. The Spaniſh admiral and two of his captains ran their veſſels aſhore; but two ſhips richly laden fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and two were ſet on fire. In one of theſe the marquis of Badajox periſhed with his wife and daughter. When the prizes arrived at Portſmouth, the protector gave order, that the treaſure ſhould be conveyed to London in waggons, which proceded through the ſtreets in triumph. Blake having received intelligence that the fleet from Peru had taken ſhelter among the Canaries, ſailed thither; and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, in a very formidable poſture of defence. The bay was fortified by a caſtle and ſeven forts, united by a line of communication. Don Diego Diagues the Spaniſh admiral had moored his ſmaller veſſels cloſe to the ſhore, and the larger galleons farther out, with their broadſides to the ſea. Blake, far from being diſcouraged by this warlike diſpoſition, took

took the opportunity of a wind blowing into the bay; and attacked them with irreſiſtible impetuoſity. After an obſtinate diſpute, the enemy abandoned their galleons, which were ſet on fire and deſtroyed; and the wind ſhifting, ſo as to blow from the ſhore, enabled the Engliſh admiral to weather the bay, where otherwiſe he muſt have been expoſed to ſuch a ſevere fire from the forts, as in all probability would have made him repent of his raſh enterprize. This great officer, in his return to England, died of the dropſy, to the unſpeakable regret of Cromwell, who honoured his corpſe with a very magnificent funeral. Blake had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct, as a general in the ſervice of the parliament, and was turned of fifty before he commenced ſea-officer. He was an inflexible republican, of honour and probity: he diſapproved of Cromwell's uſurpation, though he continued in the ſervice of his country, whoſe battles he fought with aſtoniſhing valour and ſucceſs.

A. C. 1656.

and dies in his return to England.

Clarendon. Thurloe Whitelock.

Cromwell ſeemed deſirous of conciliating the affection of the people by an upright adminiſtration. The benches were filled with judges of integrity, who did juſtice without reſpect of perſons. The nature of his government obliged him to act arbitrarily in ſome particular inſtances, ſuch as the caſes of Vane and Lilburn, whoſe great credit with the republicans required that he ſhould for ſome time confine them in priſon. For his own ſafety he likewiſe found it neceſſary to deprive Harriſon, Overton, Rich, and Okey, of their commiſſions, becauſe they had great influence in the army, and declared themſelves his implacable enemies, when he aſſumed the office of protector. Strict diſcipline was maintained among the troops. That a regular church might be maintained, he eſtabliſhed commiſſioners, partly eccleſiaſtics, partly

The nature of Cromwell's adminiſtration.

A. C. 1656. partly laymen, who, under the name of Tryers, examined the morals and qualifications of thoſe who were candidates for the miniſtry; and ſuch as were admitted they preſented occaſionally to the livings that were formerly in the gift of the crown. Full liberty of conſcience he allowed to all but papiſts and prelatiſts; and even the clergy of the Engliſh church were leſs reſtrained under his government, than they had been by the republican parliament. He bridled the royaliſts by his army and ſpies, who inſinuated themſelves into all their ſecret councils. He was likewiſe well acquainted with every tranſaction in the court of Charles; for, after the execution of Manning, he found means to corrupt Sir Richard Willis, who was in the confidence of the chancellor of the exchequer, and knew the ſecret deſigns of the king and all his adherents. He ſeemed to be apprehenſive of aſſaſſination. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had written a pamphlet, intitled, "Killing "no murder," on purpoſe to inſtigate ſome perſon to deſtroy the tyrant in this manner. Cromwell took occaſion to declare that ſuch aſſaſſinations were baſe and unmanly; and therefore he would not be the firſt to practiſe them upon his enemies: but ſhould the cavaliers make any ſuch attempt upon his life, he would find inſtruments to exterminate the whole royal family. The adminiſtration of Scotland was veſted in a council, conſiſting chiefly of Engliſh members, and lord Broghill was appointed preſident. In order to curb the nobility, the protector aboliſhed vaſſalage, and revived the office of juſtice of peace, which king James had introduced. He ſupported a long line of forts and garriſons, from one end of the kingdom to the other: he maintained an army of ten thouſand men, to prevent inſurrection and diſturbance. He favoured the preſbyterian clergy, though they took

*THURLOE* Secretary to *CROMWELL*.

took great freedoms with his person and government; but his emissaries carefully fomented the animosity that prevailed between the resolutioners and protesters. At this juncture, the enemies of Cromwell had well nigh obtained the completion of all their wishes, by an accident. The count of Oldenburg having presented him with six fine Friesland coach-horses, he, for his amusement, attempted to drive his own equipage round Hyde Park, while his secretary Thurloe sat in the coach. The horses taking fright, galloped off with such violence of speed, that he could neither manage the reins, direct their course, nor keep his seat; but falling upon the pole, was dragged along the ground; and a pistol, which he always kept in his pocket, went off in the course of his career: yet he escaped from all these perils, almost unhurt. A. C. 1656. Ludlow.

The protector thought he had now established his authority on such a firm basis, that it wanted nothing but the confirmation of a parliament composed of members from the three kingdoms; and this he accordingly convoked for the seventh day of September: but he managed the elections with such dexterity, that a great majority of his friends was returned; and above one hundred members were excluded, because they refused to sign the recognition. By the first act that was passed, they renounced Charles Stuart; by another, they decreed the penalty of high treason against any person who should make an attempt upon the life of the protector. They liberally granted the necessary supplies for the support of the war, and approved themselves, in all their proceedings, a parliament according to Cromwell's own heart. In the month of February, he discovered a conspiracy hatched against his life, by one Syndercomb, a disbanded trooper, who had served in his own guards. This resolute soldier had several times attempted to assas- He calls another parliament. A. C. 1657. Is in danger of being assassinated, by Syndercomb.

A. C. 1657. ſinate the protector, and very narrowly miſſed his aim. He behaved at his trial with undaunted reſolution, declaring that many other perſons were engaged in the ſame deſign; and ſpoke as if he had received undoubted aſſurance of being ſkreened from the ſtroke of juſtice: he was convicted of treaſon, and condemned to death; but, on the day appointed for his execution, he was found dead in priſon. A like ſcheme was afterwards formed by ſome anabaptiſts, but diſcovered and fruſtrated. Major-general Harriſon, vice-admiral Lawſon, colonel Rich, major Danvers, and others of the anabaptiſt perſuaſion, were apprehended and confined, on ſuſpicion of being concerned in this conſpiracy.

Clarendon.

The parliament make him a tender of the crown, which he refuſes.

Mean while the parliament continued to exhibit daily proofs of their complaiſance to the protector, who, on his ſide, ſeemed to have changed his nature, in order to ſolicit popularity. He careſſed the independents, profeſſed a particular affection for the preſbyterians, and pretended to have laid aſide all enmity to the nobility and royaliſts. Colonel Jephſon, in orderto ſound the inclinations of the parliament, moved that they ſhould make a tender of the crown to the protector; and the members expreſſed no ſurprize at the propoſal: but when a more formal motion to the ſame purpoſe was made by alderman Pack, the whole houſe was filled with commotion. Lambert, on pretence of conſcientious motives, ſtarted every civil and religious objection that occurred againſt the kingly government, and oppoſed the motion at the head of a ſtrong party; he had entertained the hope of ſucceeding Cromwell in the protectorſhip. In ſpite of his oppoſition, the motion was approved by a great majority; the bill brought in, and a committee appointed to confer with his highneſs, to remove the ſcruples which might otherwiſe hinder

hinder him from accepting the offer. The conferences on this subject lasted for several days. The committee urged him with arguments and importunities, to which he replied in such a confused, unintelligible manner, as plainly indicates that he did not desire to be understood. He was certainly ambitious of the crown; and, in all probability, the motion was made with his privity and concurrence: but he was staggered and perplexed by the violent opposition of Lambert and other officers. He dreaded the army, which he himself had trained to principles diametrically opposite to monarchy, and even wrought up to the most desperate enthusiasm against the kingly name: he could not even gain over his brother-in-law Desborough, and Fleetwood who had married his daughter. They plainly told him, they would resign their commissions, should he accept of the crown; and desired he would no longer depend upon their service and attachment. A petition against the office of king, signed by colonel Pride and a great number of officers, was presented to parliament. He was given to understand, that several persons had engaged in an association to cut him off, immediately after his elevation to the royal dignity: he dreaded a mutiny among the troops; and he is said to have been influenced by a pretended prophecy, importing that he should be very near the throne, but never wear the diadem. He had desired time to deliberate, and appointed the eight day of May for his answer. In this interval, while he fluctuated between fear and ambition, he is said to have undergone a vicissitude of the most anxious doubts and apprehensions: at length his answer implied an absolute refusal. A. C. 1657.

The parliament acknowledged this instance of moderation, in confirming his dignity of protector, and augmenting his power by a solemn act, intitled, They confirm the protectorship, and augment the powers of that office.

A. C. 1657. intitled, "The humble petition and advice." This empowered him to name his ſucceſſor; to convoke a yearly parliament compoſed of two houſes: it provided that no member ſhould be excluded from parliament, except with the conſent of the whole houſe; that an annual revenue of thirteen hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be levied for the maintainance of the army and navy, and the ordinary purpoſes of the civil government, excluſive of what ſums the parliament ſhould raiſe on extraordinary occaſions. Cromwell ſwore to the punctual execution of all theſe articles; and appointed the twenty-ſixth day of June for his inauguration, which was celebrated for the ſecond time with great pomp and magnificence, on the ſuppoſition that the firſt was defective in point of validity: then the parliament adjourned itſelf to the twentieth day of January.

Whitelock. Clarendon.

He ſends a reinforcement of troops to the French army.

In the courſe of this year, the protector concluded with France a league offenſive and defenſive, by which he obliged himſelf to ſend a reinforcement of ſix thouſand Engliſh to the French army. He likewiſe ſtipulated that Mardyke and Dunkirk ſhould be beſieged, and, when taken, delivered to Cromwell.

The king concludes a treaty with Spain.

King Charles, when he received the firſt hint of this negotiation, ſent a private envoy to the arch-duke Leopold, governor of the Low Countries, with propoſals of engaging in a league with Spain; and that prince embraced the offer, in hope that the king of England would influence the Iriſh troops in France to quit that ſervice and inliſt in the army of his catholic majeſty. They ſoon concluded the treaty, by which the king was allowed to reſide privately at Bruſſels, with a penſion of ſix thouſand livres a month, and half as much for his brother the duke of Glouceſter, who after his father's death, had been ſent to Holland by order of the parliament: beſides the court of Spain

Spain engaged to furnish Charles with six thousand men, as soon as he should be possessed of a good port in England. This treaty being ratified, the king quitted Cologne, and repaired to the Low Countries, at the time when Leopold resigned that government to Don John of Austria, natural son to Philip IV. Lord Muskerry, who commanded an Irish regiment in France, abandoned that service at his majesty's desire, and joined the Spanish army; and four other regiments, consisting of English, Scots, and Irish, followed his example. When the league between France and England was signed, cardinal Mazarine, gave the duke of York to understand, that he must retire to another country: at the same time he dismissed all the cavaliers who had entered into the French service, and, among the rest, the lord Digby; who, by the death of his father, was become earl of Bristol, and had by this time embraced the Roman catholic religion. Cromwell sent six thousand veterans into France under the command of Reynolds, who had acted as his plenipotentiary at Paris. In this first campaign, several places were taken from the Spaniards, and among these Mardyke, of which the English troops were put in immediate possession. Reynolds being drowned in his passage to England, was succeeded in command by Lockhart, a native of Scotland, who resided as ambassador at Paris. A. C. 1657. Clarendon.

After the adjournment, Cromwell deprived Lambert of his commission of lieutenant-general, which was bestowed upon Fleetwood; but he indulged him with a pension of two thousand pounds, on condition of his living quietly, without disturbing the government: other officers were also dismissed from the service, because the protector could not depend upon their attachment. He now produced his eldest son Richard at court, as his heir

A. C. 1657. apparent. He was a man of an inoffensive, unambitious character, who had been married some years, and lived in the country on a small estate, which he possessed in right of his wife: he spent his time in acts of benevolence. Far from approving his father's conduct, he had at the time of the late king's trial, fallen on his knees, and conjured him in the most pathetic manner to spare the life of his sovereign. His brother Henry was by this time promoted to the government of Ireland. His eldest sister had been married to Mr. Claypole, and was the darling of her father; another he bestowed upon the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick; a third married lord viscount Falconbridge; and a fourth lived in celibacy.

Richard Cromwell appears at his father's court.

Cromwell, in order to form a sort of balance to the commons, and restore in some shape the form of the antient constitution, had, in the interval of the session issued writs, summoning sixty members to compose another house equivalent to the house of peers. This step he was authorized to take by the "Humble petition and advice." These writs were directed to four or five of the antient nobility, who rejected the invitation; to some gentlemen of fortune; and a number of officers who had raised themselves from the meanest employments. He indulged them with the privileges which the peers had formerly enjoyed; and distinguished them by the name of "The other house," until he and the parliament should agree to honour them with a more dignified appellation. The commons meeting on the twentieth day of January, a motion was made for admitting those members who had been excluded, because they refused to sign the recognition. It was approved so suddenly, that Cromwell had not time to find a pretence for disputing a power they enjoyed by a solemn act, which he himself had sworn to observe; so that above an hundred

The protector establishes another house of parliament.

of

of his most bitter enemies were admitted into parliament, forming a great majority in the opposition. They began with questioning the authority of the other chamber, which they said could not pretend to have a power equal to the house of commons, from which it derived its origin and existence. A. C. 1657. which is disagreeable to the commons.

The protector, incensed at their presumption, summoned them to Whitehall, and supported the authority of the other house with such vehemence of expression, that the commons fearing immediate dissolution, thought proper to acknowledge the other house as an essential part of parliament. Nevertheless, they afterwards presumed to debate upon the petition and advice; and several members affirmed, that it was null and of no effect, because enacted under compulsion, at a time when a great number of members was excluded from the house, without any legal cause. Cromwell, perceiving that these speeches tended to a repeal of the act upon which his whole authority was founded, immediately repaired to the other house, and sent for the commons. He told them, that the petition and advice was a measure of their own: that for his part, far from aspiring to the honour of being protector, he would rather have lived in a cottage, and kept a flock of sheep, than have burthened himself with such an employment; but, as it was their desire, he did not doubt that they would have supported the work of their own hands. He said there was a predominating humour among them, disposing them to find every thing too high or too low; and therefore it was impossible to content them, while they neglected virtue, honesty, piety, and justice. He said, by their connivance, endeavours had been used to form conspiracies in the army against the present establishment; that their design was to divide the nation, and advance

the

A. C. 1657. the intereſt of the king of Scotland; that ſome of them had actually enliſted ſoldiers for that prince, who was then employed in making preparations for England. "Since that is your purpoſe (added he) and ſuch are your proceedings, I think it is high time to put an end to your ſitting: I therefore declare this parliament diſſolved: and God be judge between you and me." Several members anſwered, "Amen."

The parliament diſſolved.

A conſpiracy in favour of the king by Mordaunt, Slingſby, and Hewet, quelled by the protector.

It was not without reaſon that Cromwell talked of conſpiracies in favour of the king. A plot was actually formed by Mr. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough; Sir Henry Slingſby, a wealthy knight of Yorkſhire; and doctor Hewet a clergyman of the church of England. They had communicated to the king ſuch a feaſible account of this combination, that he had really made ſome preparations in the Low-Countries, and intended to ſend over thoſe four regiments which afterwards joined the Spaniards. Cromwell, having received intimation that one of his majeſty's commiſſions was accepted by a gentleman of the name of Stapley, whoſe father had been one of the late king's judges, and was intimate with the protector, ſent for him to Whitehall; and, by dint of private remonſtrances, prevailed upon him to diſcover all he knew of the conſpiracy. He likewiſe gave Oliver to underſtand, that the marquis of Ormond had been in England, and reſided three weeks in London. That nobleman had been ſent over by the king to learn the true ſtate of the combination; and, finding matters not yet ripe for action, returned to the continent without the know-

A. C. 1658. ledge of Cromwell. Mordaunt, Slingſby, and Hewet, together with a great number of their accomplices, were apprehended; and a high-court of juſtice was erected to try all theſe conſpirators. Mordaunt was ſaved by means of his wife, who bribed the principal evidences to abſent themſelves

from the trial: but the other two were condemned and executed. Ashton, Stacy, and Bellesley, suffered on the same account, and many others received sentence of death: but the protector spared their lives, rather than run the risque of augmenting the number of his enemies, which were already numerous and formidable. The king, about this time, received a petition, signed by several independents, quakers, and anabaptists, professing their detestation of Cromwell, and offering to risque their lives and fortunes in his majesty's service, provided he would assent to some propositions joined to their address. In these they demanded, that he would restore the long parliament, confirm the concessions which his father had made in the treaty of Newport; and allow every man to worship God in his own way. Charles, who did not relish their demands, and had no great opinion of their interest, returned a general answer, importing, that he was not of a humour to prosecute any person on account of his religion; and that those who were disposed to serve him effectually might always depend upon his favour. A. C. 1658.

In the month of June, marechal Turenne, who commanded the French army, undertook the siege of Dunkirk, which was but indifferently provided for defence. He had no sooner invested the place, than Don John of Austria marched to its relief, resolving to give battle to the besiegers. The prince of Conde, who commanded a body of his own troops as an ally of the Spaniards, advised Don John and the marquis of Caracena to alter the disposition they had made, and explained his reasons for advising that alteration: but his council being rejected, he repaired to his post, and told the duke of York, who with his brother served as a volunteer in the Spanish army, that he would presently see

The Spaniards defeated in the battle of Dunes,

A. C. 1658 see them lose a battle. Lockhart, who commanded the English troops, charged the Spanish infantry with such vigour, that they were soon broken; while their horse suffered in the same manner from the French cavalry. In a word, they were totally routed: though the prince of Condé, with his division, made a masterly retreat to Ypres and Furnes; whither likewise the Spaniards retired in great confusion. Turenne proceeded with the siege of Dunkirk, and the gallant marquis de Leyde, the governor, being mortally wounded, the place was surrendered by capitulation. The French king entered the town in triumph, and afterwards delivered it to Lockhart, whom the protector had appointed governor for the English. Many reciprocal compliments passed upon this occasion between the protector and the cardinal.

Clarendon.

and Dunkirk delivered to the English.

Cromwell seized with a tertian ague.

Cromwell, notwithstanding such an uninterrupted series of success, was by this time become truly miserable. He saw himself detested by all the different parties in England; and that his whole power rested upon a standing army in which his enemies had considerable influence. Plots and conspiracies had been formed against his life and government; he knew the desperate temper of those fanatics whom he himself had so often practised upon, and was incessantly haunted by the terrors of assassination. He wore defensive armour under his cloaths, and always kept a loaded pistol in his pocket. His aspect became cloudy, and when a stranger appeared at his court, he fixed his eyes upon him with all the eagerness of suspicion. When he made excursions to Hampton court, his coach was always filled with armed domestics, closely surrounded with guards, and he travelled with hurry and precipitation. He never slept three nights successively in the same chamber: he shifted his lodging-

lodging-room without communicating his purpose to the family; and, at the back-door of the apartment in which he lay, he ever posted centinels, in whose attachment he could confide. He was also exposed to family-disquiets that preyed upon his spirits. Fleetwood was averse to his power from principle, and had converted his wife to his opinion. His favourite daughter Claypole had lately died of a languishing disorder, during which she, in divers conferences, had awakened the horrors of his guilty conscience. All these circumstances concurring with the continual agitation of his spirits, from the multiplicity of affairs in which he was engaged, had a violent effect on his constitution. In the month of August he was seized with a tertian ague at Hampton-court; and the symptoms increasing, he was removed to Whitehall, where he began to reflect upon his past life, and prepare for his dissolution. When his chaplain Goodwin, told him the elect would never fall into reprobation, he replied, "Then I am safe; for I am "sure I was once in a state of grace." He was so much encouraged by the visions and pretended revelations of his fanatical preachers, that he believed he should certainly recover, even when the physicians despaired of his life. "I tell you (cried he) "with emotion, I shall not die of this distemper: "favourable answers have been returned by hea- "ven, not only to my own supplications, but "likewise to those of the godly, who carry on a "more intimate correspondence with the Lord." Upon a fast day, appointed on account of his distemper, the ministers thanked God for the undoubted pledges they had received of the protector's recovery.

A. C. 1658. Whitelock. Ludlow.

Notwithstanding these assurances his symptoms became more and more violent, and the physicians declared

His death, and character.

A. C. 1658. declared the next fit would put a period to his life. Then the council ſent a deputation to know his pleaſure with regard to the ſucceſſion. He was almoſt inſenſible, when they aſked if it was his pleaſure that his eldeſt ſon Richard ſhould ſucceed him in the protectorſhip; and all the anſwer he could make was a ſimple affirmative. He expired on the third day of September, the anniverſary of the victories he had obtained at Dunbar, and Worceſter; and his death was rendered remarkable by one of the moſt violent tempeſts which had blown in the memory of man, as if nature had intended to celebrate the fate of ſuch an extraordinary perſon. Cromwell died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, leaving all Europe in aſtoniſhment at the incidents of his fortune. We have already obſerved that he was deſcended of a good family in Huntingdonſhire. His father died while he was young; but his mother ſurvived his elevation to the protectorſhip. She was a virtuous woman, of the name of Stuart, and ſaid to be related to the royal family. Oliver was of a robuſt make and conſtitution, and his aſpect was manly though clowniſh. His education extended no farther than a ſuperficial knowledge of the Latin tongue: but he inherited great talents from nature; though they were ſuch as he could not have exerted to advantage at any other juncture than that of a civil war inflamed by religious conteſts. His character was formed from an amazing conjunction of enthuſiaſm, hypocriſy, and ambition. He was poſſeſſed of courage and reſolution, that overlooked all danger, and ſaw no difficulty. He dived into the characters of mankind with wonderful ſagacity; while he concealed his own purpoſes under the impenetrable ſhield of diſſimulation. He reconciled the moſt atrocious crimes to the moſt rigid notions of religious obligation. From the

the severeſt exerciſe of devotion he relaxed into the moſt ludicrous and idle buffoonery. He preſerved the dignity and diſtance of his character in the midſt of the coarſeſt familiarity*. He was cruel A. C. 1658.

* When he had a point to carry in the army, he condeſcended to take corporals and ſerjeants to his bed, where he plied them with religious exerciſe and diſcourſe. Among his friends he jeſted and compoſed doggrel rhimes. At a meeting of the republican chiefs, and the general officers, to concert the model of a free government, Cromwell, by way of joke, threw a cuſhion at the head of Ludlow, who returned the compliment, and chaſed him down ſtairs. In ſigning the king's ſentence, he in a frolic beſmeared the face of Henry Martin with ink, and Martin bedaubed him in the ſame manner. He frequently invited his inferior officers to entertainments, and when the diſhes were ſet upon the table, a number of ſoldiers would ruſh in and carry off the victuals. There was no ſplendour or magnificence in his court, which the nobility diſdained to honour with their preſence; but his œconomy was well regulated; all the perſons he employed at home and abroad, were men of uncommon ability, and acted with ſurpriſing ſpirit for the honour of the nation. He interpoſed ſo effectually in favour of the proteſtants in the valley of Lucerne, and thoſe of Niſmes and Languedoc, who were in actual rebellion againſt their princes, and in imminent danger of being extirpated at the inſtigation of the pope, that they were pardoned and reſtored to all their privileges; while his holineſs trembled at the menaces of the protector, who gave him to underſtand that his fleet ſhould viſit Civita Vecchia, in ſuch a manner that Rome would reſound with the noiſe of the Britiſh cannon. Cromwell was not altogether inſenſible to literary merit. He granted a penſion to archbiſhop Uſher, though of the oppoſite party: he retained Andrew Marvel in his ſervice; he careſſed Waller, to whom he was related. He gave one hundred pounds a year to the profeſſor of divinity at Oxford; and the celebrated John Milton was his ſecretary for the Latin tongue; though his immenſe genius was but little known even to his employers; for he is mentioned by Whitelock as an obſcure blind man, very unfit for his office.

Clarendon, Whitelock, Ludlow, Bates.

This age likewiſe produced Sir William Davenant, Sir John Denham, and Cowley, who, though indifferent poets, acquired a good ſhare of reputation. The republican ſpirit of the times gave birth to the Oceana of Harrington, containing the plan of an ideal commonwealth; and the controverſies and abſurdities that deformed religion, encouraged Hobbes to write and publiſh his Leviathan.

Among the ſects produced in the reign of Charles, one of the moſt remarkable was that of the quakers, which was founded by George Fox, the ſon of a weaver at Drayton in Lancaſhire. This enthuſiaſt was bound apprentice to a ſhoe-maker; but having a turn to ſpiritual contemplations, he quitted this mechanical profeſſion, and ſtrolled about the country in a leathern

A. C. 1658. cruel and tyrannical from policy; juſt and temperate from inclination: perplexed and deſpicable in his diſcourſe; clear and conſummate in his deſigns: ridiculous in his reveries; reſpectable in his conduct: in a word, the ſtrangeſt compound of villainy and virtue, baſeneſs and magnanimity, abſurdity and good ſenſe, that we find upon record in the annals of mankind.

Immediately after the deceaſe of Cromwell the council aſſembled; and in conſequence of his laſt will, elected his ſon Richard protector of the commonwealth. This election was notified to the

leathern doublet. That he might not be interrupted in his ſublime meditations, he wandered in woods, lodged in hollow trees, and read the bible without ceaſing. At length he believed himſelf inſpired, and began to diſregard the ſcripture as a dead letter. He now aſſumed the character of an apoſtle; and, returning to the world, exerted his talents in making proſelytes. The fanaticiſm of the times aſſiſted his endeavours, in which he met with extraordinary ſucceſs. He and his diſciples were ſeized with ſuch violent tranſports of enthuſiaſm, as threw them into contorſions, and univerſal trepidation, from whence they derived the name of quakers. Their peculiarities in manners and doctrine are ſo well known as to need no deſcription. They were ſeverely perſecuted, confined in priſons and madhouſes, reviled, ſcourged, and ſet in the pillory: but they ſuffered with ſuch patience and equanimity, as excited the admiration of mankind. They renounced all rites and ceremonies of religion; and pretended to be directed by the immediate illumination of the ſpirit. One of this ſect periſhed in attempting to faſt forty days as Chriſt faſted in the wilderneſs. A female quaker appeared naked in a church before Cromwell the protector, ſaying, ſhe was moved by the ſpirit to appear as a ſign to the people. A good number believing that the renovation of all things had commenced, threw away their cloaths as ſuperfluities. James Naylor fancied himſelf the ſaviour of the world: he pretended to raiſe a perſon from the dead: he made a public entry into Briſtol, mounted on a horſe, while his diſciples ſpread their garments before him, crying, "Hoſanna to the higheſt! "holy, holy, is the Lord God of "Sabaoth" When examined by the magiſtrate, he made no other anſwer to all queſtions, but this, "Thou "haſt ſaid it." They condemned him to be ſet on the pillory; he was ſcourged, branded in the face, and a red hot iron thruſt through his tongue. Theſe inflictions he bore with patience, nay even with exultation; but, when he was confined to Bridewell, kept to hard labour, fed upon bread and water, and debarred the company of his diſciples, his illuſions vaniſhed; and being diſmiſſed as an ordinary man, he returned to his original occupation. Hume.

mayor of London, and next day he was proclaimed in that city and in Weſtminſter. Far from meeting with oppoſition, he in a little time received addreſſes from the different counties and corporations of England, congratulating him upon his ſucceſſion, which they promiſed to ſupport with life and fortune. After having been inſtalled, and taken the oath, he, in order to ſecure the attachment of general Monk, who had rendered himſelf abſolute in Scotland, ſent thither that officer's brother-in-law Clarges, with aſſurances of friendſhip and regard. Monk received them with profeſſions of acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion. As Richard had condeſcended to aſk his advice, he counſelled him to employ none but pious and moderate miniſters in the church; to hinder the officers from caballing together; and exert his endeavours to make himſelf maſter of the army. He had no reaſon to doubt the affection of the troops, inaſmuch as every regiment in the ſervice had, in addreſſes, aſſured him of their inviolable attachment. Mean while he expended a conſiderable ſum of money on the funeral of his father, who was magnificently interred in the chapel of Henry VII. among the kings and princes of England. The parties were grown ſo reſtleſs and headſtrong before the protector's death, that he himſelf, with all his power and capacity, could hardly keep them in ſubjection. Much leſs could they be governed by Richard, who had nothing active in his diſpoſition, no talents for buſineſs, no knowledge of government, no acquaintance with the army, no ambition of power, no importance of character. The general aſſent to his ſucceſſion was no other than a temporary acquieſcence, until each party could concert its meaſures, and act effectually for its own intereſt.

A. C. 1658.

His ſon Richard declared his ſucceſſor in the protectorſhip.

A. C. 1658. The new protector, that his power might have the proper sanction, convoked a parliament for the three kingdoms, consisting, like the last, of two houses; and in the mean time consulted with his particular friends, about means for keeping his council and army in dependence upon his authority. His confederates were men in civil employments, who, without considering the change of circumstances, advised him to support to its full extent, the authority which he inherited from his father, and the plan of government he had established. His uncle Desborough was a republican, and his brother Fleetwood an enthusiastic millenarian, consequently both averse to the government of a single person. Fleetwood was the idle of the army, which Richard disobliged by the promotion of some officers against whom they entertained a dislike. Lambert and Ludlow, with many other officers whom Oliver had laid aside, came forth from their retreats, and began to cabal against the protector. Some of his disguised enemies persuaded him that it would be his interest to assemble a good number of officers at London, to overawe the deliberations of the parliament, in case it should prove refractory. He fell into the snare, and ordered all the officers that could be spared from their regiments to repair to London. These constituted a numerous assembly, which met frequently, and assumed the name of "The great council of the "army." Being actuated by Desborough and his associates, they presented a petition to the protector, demanding that no member of the army should be subject to the civil magistrate; and that the officers should enjoy the privilege of chusing their own general. Richard, shocked at their presumption, rejected their requests, and even threatened to dismiss them from the service, should they make such extravagant proposals for the future.

He convokes a parliament,

Their

Their directors encouraged this petition, on purpose that the officers might suffer a repulse, which would provoke their resentment; and they were not disappointed in their expectation, A. C. 1658.

When the parliament met on the twenty-seventh day of January, they called in question the right which the Scots and Irish arrogated, in sending members to the house; and, like their predecessors, they began to examine the authority of the other house. After tedious debates, it was agreed, by a majority of votes, that the other house should subsist; and the Scottish and Irish members sit in parliament. Then they passed an act, confirming Richard's title of protector. In the mean time the A. C. 1659. council of officers presented another petition, demanding that Fleetwood should be appointed general of the army. The protector answered this with uncommon acrimony, and ordered them to return to their quarters. The commons dreading their designs, voted that no council of officers should be held during the session of parliament; and that no person should be permitted to exercise an employment in the army, until after he should have taken an oath, that he would not interrupt the deliberations of the commons. But these votes were rejected by the other house, composed chiefly of officers; and the council was continued, without any regard to the orders of the protector, who had now lost all authority, and brought his administration into contempt. On the twenty-second day of April, he was beleagured in Whitehall by a body of officers; and Desborough penetrating to his apartment with an armed retinue, demanded, in the name of the army, that he would dissolve the parliament. He was obliged to comply with their desire; and, as the commons had adjourned the house for three days, he dissolved them by proclamation.

which is dissolved.

Whitelock. Clarendon. Baker. Ludlow.

A. C. 1659. The officers resolved to settle the government, without taking the least notice of Richard, who was now considered as a private person. They elected Fleetwood for their general; restored Lambert, Ludlow, and the other officers whom Oliver had dismissed; and broke five colonels, who had advised Richard to support the parliament. These were Ingoldsby, Goffe, Whalley, lord Falconbridge, and Howard, afterwards earl of Carlisle. The council of officers always met at Wallingford-house, which belonged to Fleetwood, whom they seemed desirous of raising to the protectorship: but Lambert, who was a man of deep design and aspiring ambition, resolved to counterwork the interest of Fleetwood by private cabals, while he cajoled him to his face with the most flattering expressions of friendship and veneration. For this purpose he employed colonel Lilburne to intrigue among the independents of the army, who abhorred the protectorship. A great number of these being inferior officers, assembled at St. James's, to consult about the regulation of the government. There they began to extol the administration of the independent parliament, which had brought their king to the scaffold, and destroyed the constitution of their country. They were joined by Ludlow, countenanced by Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and all the tribe of republicans, anabaptists, millenarians, and other fanatics that swarmed in the army. In a word, they became so powerful, that the council of Wallingford-house thought proper to join them in "the good old cause:" so they termed the re-establishment of that remnant which Oliver had so disgracefully dismissed. Before this union of the officers took effect, those of Wallingford-house, in a conference with Vane, Haslerig, Scot, Solway, and other members of the old parliament, had insisted upon their being secured

Restoration of the Rump.

by

by an act of indemnity; but were obliged to rest contented with a verbal promise, by which those members engaged to use their endeavours for that purpose. All these steps being taken, Lambert, accompanied by a great number of officers, repaired to the house of Lenthal, who had been speaker in the long parliament, and presented him with a declaration of the military council, by which he and the other members were invited to re-assemble. Accordingly, on the eighth day of May, they met in the house, to the number of two and forty; and the presbyterian members, who had been formerly excluded, attempted to resume their seats; but they would not admit of such troublesome associates; and the army, supported them in the renunciation of those members. This assembly was so hated for their former tyranny, that the people in general could not help deriding them under the denomination of "the rump;" in allusion to their being the most inconsiderable and ignoble part of the parliament. A. C. 1659.

The first step taken by them, was to tamper with the officers under Monk in Scotland, while they sent thither Clarges to persuade him to acknowledge the new government. They knew he hated them in his heart; but such was his influence among the troops, and the whole Scottish people, by whom he was generally beloved for his impartial and mild administration, that the parliament would not venture to deprive him of his office. The change of government was so sudden and unexpected, that Monk had not time to regulate his conduct; and when he began to sound his officers, he found them already prepossessed by letters from their friends in London. He therefore acquiesced in the authority of his new masters. Immediately after the parliament reassembled, Lambert presented an address in the name of the general coun- Richard Cromwell resigns his protectorship.

A.C. 1659. cil of officers, petitioning, That they would paſs an act of indemnity in favour of thoſe who had been inſtrumental in the late changes of government: That all chriſtians ſhould be indulged with liberty of conſcience, except papiſts, prelatiſts, and libertines: That all cavaliers ſhould be for ever excluded from the magiſtracy or public employments of any kind: That meaſures ſhould be taken to prevent the danger from the power's being too long veſted in one parliament: That they would confirm lord Charles Fleetwood in the office of general in chief of all the land-forces belonging to the commonwealth: That the legiſlative power ſhould reſide in a repreſentative of the people; and the executive part of government be intruſted to a council of ſtate, compoſed of able, pious, and faithful members: That they would diſcharge the debts of his highneſs Richard Cromwell; and grant ſuitable penſions for him and his mother, that poſterity might ſee the great reſpect they paid to the memory of their renowned general Oliver Cromwell, to which the ſtate had owed ſuch ſignal obligations. The parliament thanked the officers for their affection to the public; though they did not at all reliſh ſome articles of their addreſs. They deteſted the family of Cromwell; but they were afaid of diſobliging their conſtituents. A deputation from their houſe waited upon Richard, to know whether or not he acquieſced in the change of government; and he ſignified his ſubmiſſion in writing. Nevertheleſs, they refuſed to pay the debt which he had contracted for his father's funeral; but they accommodated him with two thouſand pounds, and ordered him to leave Whitehall in ſix days.

They appointed Fleetwood commander in chief; but limited his commiſſion to one year; they ordained, that all commiſſions ſhould be ſigned by the

the speaker of the house; they voted, That Ireland should be governed by commissioners appointed in parliament; and recalled Henry Cromwell to London. He obeyed the order with a good grace, though he might have given them abundance of trouble; for he had great influence among the troops in that kingdom; and was beloved by the people for his mild and upright administration. The parliament dreading the power of the superior officers, a good number of whom they knew were averse to their government, began to new-model the army. The committee for examining commissions, cashiered many officers whom they suspected; and filled their places with others, in whom they could confide. They would have practised the same method with the troops under Monk; but he was no sooner apprised of their intention, than he wrote letters to the parliament, complaining of their design to sap his authority; and hinting, that it would not be for their interest to drive him to extremity. They did not think it prudent to quarrel with an officer of his ability, at the head of twelve thousand veterans, supported by the whole Scottish nation; and therefore they recalled the commissions they had granted. They continued the tax of five and thirty thousand pounds a month, which had been imposed by the parliament during Oliver's protectorship. They appointed commissioners for the civil government of Ireland; and bestowed the chief command of the forces in that kingdom upon Edmund Ludlow, an experienced officer and rigid republican. A. C. 1659. The parliament take the administration into their own hands. Clarendon. Baker. Whitelock.

Having received intimation of a design in favour of the king, they ordered all cavaliers to quit London. This step was not unnecessary. Charles had impowered commissioners to treat with those, who, though they had acted against his father or himself, were now willing to return to their duty. These Insurrections in favour of the king.

A. C. 1659. agents had met with extraordinary ſucceſs. The people were ſick of a tyranny eſtabliſhed by two and forty independents, the deſpicable remnant of thoſe who had enſlaved their country; and they were as much diſguſted with an army of fanatics and hypocrites, who, on pretence of extending the kingdom of Chriſt, had proſecuted their own ſelfiſh purpoſes, and committed the moſt flagrant acts of inſolence, cruelty, and oppreſſion. The preſbyterians were no friends to monarchy, unleſs curtailed of almoſt all its prerogatives; but they were ſtill more averſe to the independents, and eagerly ſought the ruin of that deteſted party, even though at the expence of ſeeing the royal family reſtored. They therefore reſolved to co-operate with the cavaliers. Colonel Mordaunt reſolved to hazard his life once more for the ſervice of his ſovereign. He projected a plan for ſurpriſing at one time Glouceſter, Lyme, Plymouth, Exeter, and Cheſter. The ſcheme was approved by the king, who repaired in ſecret to St. Malo, that he might be at hand, in caſe the enterprize ſhould ſucceed. But the whole deſign was defeated by the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, who imparted it to Thurloe, by whom it was communicated to the council of ſtate. The militia of the different counties was immediately put into the hands of officers upon whom the parliament could depend; and ſuch other precautions taken as rendered the execution of the ſcheme altogether impracticable. Maſſay was taken in attempting to ſurpriſe Glouceſter; but he eſcaped from his keepers: lord Willoughby and Horatio Townſhend were arreſted on the road to the weſtern counties. Sir George Booth, with five hundred men, actually took poſſeſſion of Cheſter, and publiſhed a declaration againſt the tyranny of the parliament, without mentioning the king's name. He was joined by Sir Thomas Middleton; but Lam-

bert

bert marching againſt them with a detachment of the army, by order of the commons, they were quickly routed. Sir George Booth eſcaped from the field; but he was afterwards diſcovered in woman's attire, and conveyed to the Tower of London. A. C. 1659.

This victory inſpired the parliament with ſuch extraordinary courage, that they ventured to confirm the alterations they had formerly made in Monk's army: and this officer was ſo much offended, that in a letter to the ſpeaker he demanded his diſmiſſion; but his brother-in-law Dr. Clarges uſed ſuch arguments with Lenthal, that it was never communicated to the parliament. The conduct of Monk was ſo myſterious at this juncture, that one would be apt to think he had not yet determined in what manner he ſhould act. The partiſans of the king took it for granted, that he ſecretly favoured the royal cauſe; and, upon that ſuppoſition, ſent his own brother, who was a clergyman and royaliſt, with propoſals in favour of his ſovereign: but he declined treating on the ſubject, and behaved towards his brother with impenetrable reſerve and ſeeming indifference. Monk's reſerve and myſterious conduct.

The principal officers at London perceiving that the intention of the parliament was to enſlave the army, held ſeveral conferences to concert meaſures for preventing the execution of this deſign; and their deliberations were ſtill influenced by Lambert, though he was then quartered in the North of England. Knowing that the inferior officers of the troops about London were devoted to the parliament, he tampered with thoſe under his command ſo ſucceſsfully, that they were prevailed upon to ſign a petition to parliament, demanding, That they would comply with the contents of the addreſs formerly preſented by the council of Wallingford-houſe: That they would eſtabliſh general Petition by the officers at Derby.

Fleetwood

A. C. 1659. Fleetwood in his command, which, according to his preſent commiſſion, would expire in a few months: That Lambert ſhould be appointed lieutenant-general, Deſborough general of the cavalry, and Monk general of the infantry: That they would take vengeance on thoſe communities which had aſſiſted the enemy in the late inſurrections; and regulate the corporations in ſuch a manner, as to exclude from the magiſtracy all but ſuch as had expreſſed their affection for a commonwealth. This petition, dated at Derby, was communicated to Fleetwood for his approbation, before it ſhould be preſented to parliament; but Sir Arthur Haſlerig having received intimation of their ſcheme, communicated his intelligence to the houſe. Fleetwood being interrogated upon this ſubject, owned the deſign; and three officers who brought it to town, delivered a copy of the petition to the ſpeaker. The houſe having taken the ſubſtance of it into deliberation, voted, That to have other officers than thoſe appointed by parliament would be uſeleſs, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth.

Notwithſtanding this mark of diſapprobation, the officers drew up another addreſs, which was preſented to Deſborough. In this, though they profeſſed adherence to the parliament, they complained of miſrepreſentations; and in many articles ſupported the petition from Derby. They alſo demanded, That the arrears of the army ſhould be paid: That proviſion ſhould be made for maimed ſoldiers, widows, and orphans: That no officer ſhould be caſhiered but by the ſentence of a court-martial, except in caſe of reduction: and, That none ſhould be admitted but ſuch as were examined and found duly qualified. The houſe was extremely diſſatisfied at the nature of this addreſs; but being in no condition to act with a high hand, they

Clarendon. Baker. Whitelock.

thanked the petitioners for this expreſſion of their affection and fidelity; and gave them to underſtand, that the parliament had already begun to take meaſures for the ſatisfaction of the army. Nevertheleſs, having received letters from Monk, filled with profeſſions of attachment and ſubmiſſion, they ventured to anſwer every diſtinct article of the petition, in a different ſtile. They declared, That the officers had complained without cauſe; and, That the parliament did not think themſelves obliged to give an account of their conduct. The officers now thought they could not recede with ſafety; and they reſolved either to ſubdue or diſſolve the parliament. For this purpoſe Lambert approached London with his brigade; and the houſe paſſed an act, declaring all thoſe guilty of high-treaſon who ſhould raiſe money on the ſubject, without the conſent of parliament. Having received aſſurances from Monk, that he would ſupport them, and was already on his march from Scotland, they caſhiered Lambert, Deſborough, and ſome other officers who had ſigned the petition; revoked Fleetwood's commiſſion, and appointed commiſſioners to govern the army for a limited time: but the army paid no regard to theſe reſolutions. The council of ſtate ſent for two regiments, commanded by officers in whom they could confide, to take up their quarters in Weſtminſter, and guard the parliament; but Lambert entering London with four regiments, took poſſeſſion of all the avenues to the parliament, on the thirteenth day of October, reconducted the ſpeaker to his own houſe, and excluded the members. At night, the two regiments that were well affected to the parliament, retired from their poſts, which were immediately occupied by Fleetwood: next day the malcontents caſhiered the officers of thoſe two regiments, A. C. 1659.

The parliament diſmiſſed by the army.

A. C. 1659. ments, and filled up their places with others, whom the ſoldiers received without heſitation.

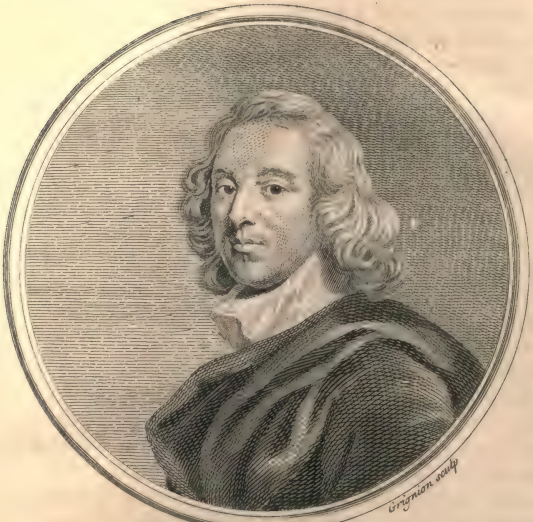
The council of officers appoint a committee of ſafety.

Having thus ſeized the adminiſtration into their own hands, they formed a council of ten, to provide for the moſt preſſing occaſions of the commonwealth. They choſe Fleetwood for their general, Lambert for their lieutenant, and Deſborough for general of the cavalry. A council of ſeven was impowered to diſtribute commiſſions; and the ſevereſt diſcipline was obſerved. They ſent colonel Cobbet to Monk, that he might endeavour to engage that officer in their party; but, ſhould his remonſtrances prove ineffectual, he had inſtructions to ſeduce his troops, and, if poſſible, arreſt his perſon. Dr. Clarges did not fail to make Monk previouſly acquainted with Cobbet's commiſſion. During this anarchy that prevailed in England, the king ſet out for Fontarabia, that he might be preſent at the treaty which was now brought upon the carpet, for a pacification between France and Spain; but before he reached St. John De Luz, the peace

Clarendon.

of the Pyrenees was concluded. Don Lewis De Haro prime-miniſter of Spain, received him with great hoſpitality: he even preſented him with a ſum of money; but cardinal Mazarine refuſed to ſee him, that he might give no umbrage to the parliament of England; and Charles returned to Bruſſels. On the twenty-ſixth day of October, the council of officers appointed a committee of ſafety, in which they veſted the power of the adminiſtration. The principal members were Fleetwood, Deſborough, Lambert, Ludlow, and Sir Henry Vane, who, though a member of parliament, had lately eſpouſed the cauſe of the army. At the ſame time, the officers publiſhed a declaration, annulling the late orders of parliament; and declaring, that far from ſetting up a military govern-

ment,



Sr. HENRY VANE.

ment, they had eſtabliſhed a committee of ſafety, which was injoined to deliberate and propoſe a form of legiſlature, that ſhould be proper to maintain the liberties of the ſubject, and the happineſs of the commonwealth, without king, ſingle governor, or houſe of peers. A. C. 1659.

Monk had by this time, in all probability, reſolved to follow the dictates of his affection to the royal family. He expected to be joined by the preſbyterians, who had been ſeverely oppreſſed by the independents: he was aſſured of the cavaliers; and did not doubt of being able to gain over part of the army in England; but he found it neceſſary to act with ſecreſy and circumſpection, and proceed for ſome time under colour of re-eſtabliſhing the parliament. He aſſembled his troops from the different parts of Scotland; diſmiſſed ſome officers whom he knew averſe to his deſigns; impriſoned Cobbet in the caſtle of Edinburgh; found means to ſecure the town of Berwick in his intereſt; and demanded of the Scots an extraordinary ſupply for the purpoſes of his expedition. During theſe preparations, Clarges arrived in Scotland with propoſals for a treaty between him and the committee of ſafety. By the advice of this gentleman, he conſented to a negotiation, in order to gain time; and ſent three of his officers, namely, Wilkes, Cloberry, and Knight, as comiſſioners to treat with the committee, though they were expreſsly ordered to ſtart ſuch obſtacles as would protract the negotiation. They found Lambert at York with a body of forces, to oppoſe the progreſs of Monk, whom he hated as a rival in military fame and preferment. He ſaid, he was ſufficiently authoriſed to treat with them; but, when they demanded the reſtoration of the parliament, he owned he had no inſtructions on that article; and they proceeded to London, where the committee

Negotiation between Monk and the committee of ſafety.

A. C. 1659. committee immediately assented to all their proposals. The treaty was accordingly signed on the fifteenth day of November; both sides engaging to act vigorously in opposition to Charles Stuart.

The parliament is restored.

Monk was chagrined at the precipitation of his deputies, and delayed ratifying the treaty, on pretence that they had deviated from their instructions. From this circumstance the committee suspected his design. The members of the parliament who had composed the council of state, assembling privately, expedited a commission, appointing Monk commander in chief of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The governor of Portsmouth admitted into the place, Haslerig, Morley, and Walton; and declared for the parliament. A detachment of the army sent thither by the committee to block up the town, abandoned their officers, and joined the governor. Their example was followed by another body of troops, detached on the same service: while vice-admiral Lawson publicly espoused the parliament's interest, and sailed into the river Thames to overawe the committee and their adherents. Lambert, informed of these transactions, sent a regiment to the assistance of his friends in London; but when they arrived at St. Alban's, they revolted to the parliament: Haslerig, Walton, and Morley, began their march for London, at the head of those very troops which had abandoned their leaders. Such a concurrence of disasters intirely broke the spirit of the committee. They durst not assemble the army, for fear of seeing more dangerous instances of defection; and they took no precautions for their own defence. Whitelocke advised Fleetwood either to put himself at the head of the army, or effect an accommodation with the king. He seemed to relish this last part of the alternative; but he afterwards changed his opinion, and remained inactive. At length, he

and

and his colleagues consented to the restoration of the parliament; and resigned the authority they had usurped. On the twenty-sixth day of December, the members assembling, appointed a committee for governing the army in their name and under their direction: then they sent express orders to Lambert, to distribute his forces into quarters; but they had already, upon the news of the revolution at London, confined their general, who was sent prisoner to the Tower of London: Sir Harry Vane and some other members, who joined the army, were likewise confined to their own houses. A.C. 1659. Clarendon. Baker. Whitelock. Ludlow.

Monk having received a supply of thirty thousand pounds from the Scots, and taken proper precautions for maintaining the peace of that kingdom, entered England on the second day of January. In a few days he received a letter from the speaker, informing him of the parliament's being restored, thanking him for his good intentions, and giving him to understand that he might save himself the trouble of coming to London, as they were already in quiet possession of their authority. Notwithstanding this intimation, he proceeded on his march, pretending that he would reduce the mutinous army to obedience under the legislative power. Lord Fairfax, who had taken possession of York, that it might not fall into the hands of the committee of safety, admitted Monk without hesitation, and they frequently conferred together; so that, in all probability, Monk acted in concert with the presbyterian party, of which Fairfax was the chief. Notwithstanding Monk's dissimulation, the members of the rump were too sagacious not to perceive that he certainly had some secret design which he industriously concealed from their knowledge: but whether it was to follow the footsteps of Oliver Cromwell, or to restore the king, they could not yet determine. Monk marches into England.

They

A. C. 1659. They eſtabliſhed a council of ſtate, compoſed of nine and twenty members, of which Monk was one. They ordered each to take an oath, renouncing the title of Charles Stuart, profeſſing fidelity to the parliament and commonwealth, and engaging to oppoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of a ſingle governor and houſe of peers. Then they ſent Scot and Robinſon, as their deputies, under pretence of doing honour to Monk, though, in effect, they were intended as ſpies upon his conduct. They met him at Leiceſter, where he, that very day, in their preſence, received an addreſs from the city of London, exhorting him to reſtore the members whom the independents had expelled from parliament before the late king's trial. Scot interrupted the deputy from London, while he recited this petition, and ſaid, it tended to the deſtruction of a republican parliament. Nevertheleſs, Monk received it graciouſly: and many other addreſſes to the ſame purpoſe were preſented to him, in his march from Scotland. To theſe he made no other anſwer, than that he would communicate their contents to the parliament: he was ſtill under an indiſpenſible neceſſity of diſſembling, leſt the commons and army ſhould unite for his deſtruction.

He enters London.

When he reached St. Alban's, he ſent a letter to the houſe, deſiring they would order the regiments that were in London to quit that city, and make way for his troops, as he could not think it proper for thoſe men who had been ſo lately in rebellion, to reſide in the ſame place with his ſoldiers, who were devoted to the ſervice of the parliament: at the ſame time he forwarded a plan for the diſpoſition of his own troops in London, and aſſigned quarters in the neighbourhood for thoſe which ſhould march out at his approach. This demand increaſed the ſuſpicion of the houſe; but they were fain to comply with his directions. On the

third

third day of February he entered London in triumph, at the head of his army, and repaired to the council of ſtate, where the oath of abjuration being tendered to him, he deſired time to conſider; obſerving that ſtrong objections had been made to it in parliament. They refuſed to admit him as a member on any other terms, and he withdrew. On the ſixth, he was introduced into the houſe of commons by Scot and Robinſon, a chair of velvet being placed within the bar; the ſpeaker ſolemnly thanked him, in the name of the parliament, for his great ſervices, and deſired him to be ſeated. He declined the compliment; and, ſtanding behind the chair, made a ſhort harangue. He ſaid, the peaceable reſtoration of the parliament was not one of the ſmalleſt bleſſings which God had conferred upon this poor nation. He expreſſed his joy that God had been pleaſed to make him, in ſome meaſure, an inſtrument to bring about that bleſſed event. He acknowledged his own unworthineſs and their generoſity. He told them, that he had received a great number of addreſſes, expreſſing the deſire of a free parliament: that the excluded members ſhould be reſtored without the impoſition of oaths; and the time fixed for another general election. He obſerved, that the fewer oaths they impoſed, they would the ſooner bring their work to perfection. He exhorted them to be upon their guard againſt cavaliers and fanatics. He recommended the ſettlement of Ireland and Scotland to their particular care; and, with reſpect to this laſt kingdom, preſented them with a liſt of judges and commiſſioners of approved talents and fidelity.

A.C. 1659.

His ſpeech to the parliament.

The common-council of London, ſuppoſing themſelves perfectly well acquainted with the real deſign of Monk, reſolved to pay no taxes, until the excluded members ſhould be replaced. The parliament forthwith ordered the general to march into the city, arreſt eleven members of the com-

Demoliſhes the city gates.

A.C. 1659. mon-council, carry off their chains, and demoliſh their gates and port-cullices. Monk, in obedience to this order, entered the city with his troops, apprehended the eleven common-council-men, and began to deſtroy the gates. Then he wrote a letter to the parliament, informing them of what he had done, and begging they would moderate the ſeverity of their order. The houſe whether from reſentment to the city, or with a view to prove the ſincerity of his profeſſions, commanded him to execute punctually the order he had received; and he forthwith obeyed their mandate. After having deprived the city of its chains, gates, and port-cullices, he marched back to Whitehall, of his own accord, leaving the Londoners equally aſtoniſhed and incenſed at his proceedings. On that very day, Praiſegod Barebones preſented to parliament a petition, ſigned by a great number of perſons, deſiring that every individual of the kingdom ſhould be compelled to take the oath of abjuration. He met with a gracious reception, and was thanked for his affection to the commonwealth.

He reconciles himſelf to the common-council.

Monk began to think he had extended his diſſimulation too far. He ſent his brother Clarges to aſſure the mayor, that he would make ample reparation for what he had done, and to propoſe a conference with him and the common-council. The mayor, afraid of being enſnared by his deceit, rejected the propoſal; nevertheleſs, he reſolved to viſit the city once more, at the head of his troops. Juſt as he began his march, he, with the concurrence of his officers, ſent a letter to the parliament, complaining that they had employed him to the moſt unpopular ſervice they could deviſe; that they paid too much regard to Lambert, Vane, and ſome other friends to the committee of ſafety; that they allowed Ludlow to ſit in parliament, although he ſtood accuſed of high-treaſon by the officers in Ireland; and that they had thanked Barebones for having preſented

presented a seditious petition. He then positively demanded that, by Friday next, they would issue writs for filling the vacant places, and make way for the meeting of a free parliament. The house could no longer doubt of his design; yet they voted that he should be thanked for his care and concern; and that they should begin without delay to take measures for his satisfaction. Scot and Robinson were sent to make him acquainted with this resolution; but he had already marched into the city, and prevailed with the mayor to assemble the common-council. He told these two deputies, that every thing would be well, provided they would observe the contents of his letter. When this answer was reported to the house, they voted that the command of the army should be vested in five commissioners; and they nominated Monk as one of them, though in such a manner, that his presence was not necessary to a quorum. Mean while he had effectually excused himself to the magistrates of London, by declaring his inviolable regard for the city, and communicating the letter he had sent to the parliament. Nothing was now heard but ringing of bells and shouts of joy: the populace made bonfires in every street, and roasted rumps of poultry in derision of the parliament. A.C. 1659.

When Monk was summoned to take his place in the council of state, he declined going thither, on pretence that his presence was necessary in the city, to keep the inhabitants quiet. He now again received petitions from all quarters, for the restoration of the secluded members; and, after some fruitless conferences between some of these and the sitting members, he resolved to re-establish them by force of arms. Having secured the consent of his officers, and exacted a new promise from the excluded members, that they would call a full and free parliament, he, on the twenty-first day of February, accompanied them to Whitehall; from

He restores the secluded members of parliament.

A.C. 1659. whence they were conducted, with a sufficient guard, to the parliament-house, which they entered, without having sent any previous intimation of their purpose. Their number was so superior to that of the rump, that the chiefs of this last party, seeing no possibility of making head against such opposition, thought proper to withdraw, and leave the field free to their antagonists. Monk sent circular letters to the commanders of all the regiments, informing them of this revolution: he assured them, that the restored members were zealous for the interest of the army; and desired them to exert all their vigilance in defeating the designs which the malignants might hatch in favour of Charles Stuart. He concealed from them his real design, because they were generally anabaptists and republicans, not yet sufficiently prepared for the restoration of the royal family.

Writs issued for a new parliament.

The parliament annulled all the resolutions and ordinances which had passed against the excluded members: they released Sir George Booth, and all the royalists, who were in prison; they appointed Monk general in chief of all the forces in the three kingdoms; they repealed the oath of abjuration, and that of fidelity to the established government without king and house of peers; so that the lords were restored to their right of sitting in parliament.

Clarendon. Baker. Whitelock.

They made great alterations in the militia all over the kingdom: constituted a council of state, composed of one and twenty members, the majority of whom were royalists; and dissolved their own assembly on the seventeenth day of March, after having issued writs for a free parliament, to meet on the twenty-fifth day of April. But, before their separation, they voted that no person should be employed in a military capacity, until after he should have acknowledged upon oath the justice of the war, which the parliament had waged against the late king; and that none of those who had carried

LIEUT GENL LAMBERT.

carried arms for Charles should be returned as members of the ensuing parliament. A. C. 1659.

The republicans seeing through this disguise, endeavoured to persuade Monk to assume the sovereign power, in imitation of Cromwell, chusing to submit to a single chief, rather than expose themselves to the vengeance of injured majesty; but he rejected all their remonstrances on this subject. Then they instigated a good number of officers, who professed their own principles, to draw up a declaration, in which they engaged to maintain the republican government. This was presented to the general, with a desire that it might be subscribed by the whole army. But the first excused himself, alledging that it was unnecessary; and when they repeated their importunities, he, in an absolute tone, forbade them to assemble for the future, without his permission. Cardinal Mazarine having received intimation that Monk had formed some great design, ordered Bordeaux, the French ambassador, to make a tender of his services to the general, who civilly declined his offers. Immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, Sir John Greenvill, sent over by the king, had a private audience of Monk, who dismissed him to his master, with assurances of zeal and fidelity to his majesty's service, as well as with some salutary advice, which Charles followed with great punctuality. Mean while the general new modelled his army. Some officers, by his direction, presented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by all the different regiments; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was rejected. Efforts of the republicans to prevent the restoration.

In the midst of these transactions, his endeavours had well nigh been defeated by an accident: Lambert escaped from the Tower, and began to assemble Lambert escapes from the Tower.

A. C. 1659. forces. He was a very active officer, and had acquired great influence in the army. Monk knew that a great number of the soldiers were republicans, and would take the first opportunity of opposing his measures in favour of the king. He therefore dispatched colonel Ingoldsby, with his own regiment, against Lambert, before he should have time to assemble his dependents. That officer had taken possession of Daventry, with four troops of horse; but the greater part of them joined Ingoldsby, to whom he himself surrendered, not without exhibiting marks of pusillanimity, that ill agreed with his reputation. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, and Crede, were likewise taken without opposition. The republicans made another effort before the meeting of the parliament: they circulated copies of a feigned letter, dated at Brussels, importing that the king desired his restoration for nothing so much as an opportunity of being revenged upon his enemies. In opposition to this stratagem, which began to produce some effect, the nobility and other royalists, to the number of seventy, signed a declaration disavowing such principles, and protesting their desire of living peaceably, without seeking revenge against the authors of their misfortunes.

but is retaken by Ingoldsby.

A.C. 1660.

The king's letters to the new parliament.

On the twenty-fifth day of April, the new parliament met in two houses, according to the antient constitution; and in both the interest of the royalists predominated, notwithstanding the votes of limitation, to which the electors paid no regard. On the second day of their sitting, Sir John Greenvill returned from Brussels, with the king's commission, constituting Monk general of all the forces; and a letter from his majesty, to be communicated to the council of state and the officers of the army: but the general excused himself from opening this letter, without the permission of parliament. The house of commons being adjourned for a few days, Sir John Greenvill presented to the lords a letter from

from the king, expreſſing his hope that, as they were now reſtored to their privileges, they would uſe their endeavours to appeaſe the troubles of the kingdom, re-eſtabliſh his majeſty in the poſſeſſion of his juſt prerogatives, reſtore to the parliament its privileges, and to the people their liberties. Together with this letter, Greenvill delivered a declaration, in which the king promiſed to govern according to the laws of the realm, and maintain the rights of his ſubjects: To paſs an act of indemnity, in favour of all thoſe who had acted againſt him or his father, except ſuch as the parliament ſhould deem unworthy of pardon: To indulge tender and ſcrupulous conſciences with liberty in matters of religion: To leave to the examination of parliament the claims of thoſe officers, ſoldiers, and others, who poſſeſſed lands to which their titles might be conteſted: To confirm all theſe articles by act of parliament: To ſatisfy the army under general Monk, with reſpect to their arrears; and receive the officers and ſoldiers into his ſervice, in the ſame rank and with the ſame appointments, which they then enjoyed. A. C. 1660.

This declaration was no ſooner read, than the lords voted that, according to the antient conſtitution of England, the government ought to be veſted in a king, lords, and commons. The ſame declaration, with another letter, being delivered to the lower houſe after their adjournment, they concurred with the vote of the lords; and reſolved to preſent the king with fifty thouſand pounds, the duke of York with ten thouſand, and the duke of Glouceſter with half that ſum. Then the two houſes erazed from their records all the acts which had paſſed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, and the city of London, prepared addreſſes, congratulating his majeſty on his reſtoration, and vowing inviolable fidelity; and theſe were delivered to Charles by the hands of Clarges. On the eighth day of May, the king was proclaimed in Reſtoration of Charles II.

A.C. 1660. in London; and the deputies of the parliament and city ſet out on the eleventh for the Hague, where Charles waited their arrival. Some preſbyterian miniſters repaired to the ſame place, to teſtify the zeal of that ſect for his reſtoration, and found his real ſentiments with reſpect to religion. He confirmed to them, by word of mouth, the promiſe of liberty of conſcience, inſerted in his declaration; but when they exhorted him to aboliſh the uſe of the common-prayer and the ſurplice in his own chapel, he frankly told them, that as he did not intend to reſtrict any perſon in point of religion, ſo neither would he be reſtricted. He gave audience to the deputies of the parliament on the ſixteenth day of May; and, at the ſame time, admiral Montague payed his reſpects to his majeſty, accompanied by the principal officers of the fleet, who waited his orders at Scheveling: he afterwards received the compliments of congratulation from the ſtates-general, and embarked on the twenty-third day of the month. On the twenty-ſixth he arrived at Dover, where he was met by general Monk, whom he embraced with the warmeſt affection, honouring him with the appellation of father. He proceeded directly to Canterbury, where he beſtowed the order of the garter upon his reſtorer; and on the twenty-ninth, which was his birth-day, reached Whitehall, through an innumerable multitude of people, who rent the air with ſhouts and acclamations. They had been ſo long diſtracted by unrelenting factions, oppreſſed and alarmed by a ſucceſſion of tyrannies, which threatened national anarchy and deſtruction, that they could not, without extravagant emotions of joy, behold their conſtitution reſtored without bloodſhed; while the king remounted the throne of his anceſtors, and law, order, and ſubordination, began to flow quietly in their antient channels.

Clarendon. Whitelock. Baker.

The END of the Seventh VOLUME.

*MONCK* Duke of *ALBEMARLE*.

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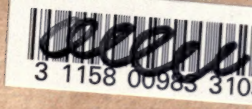
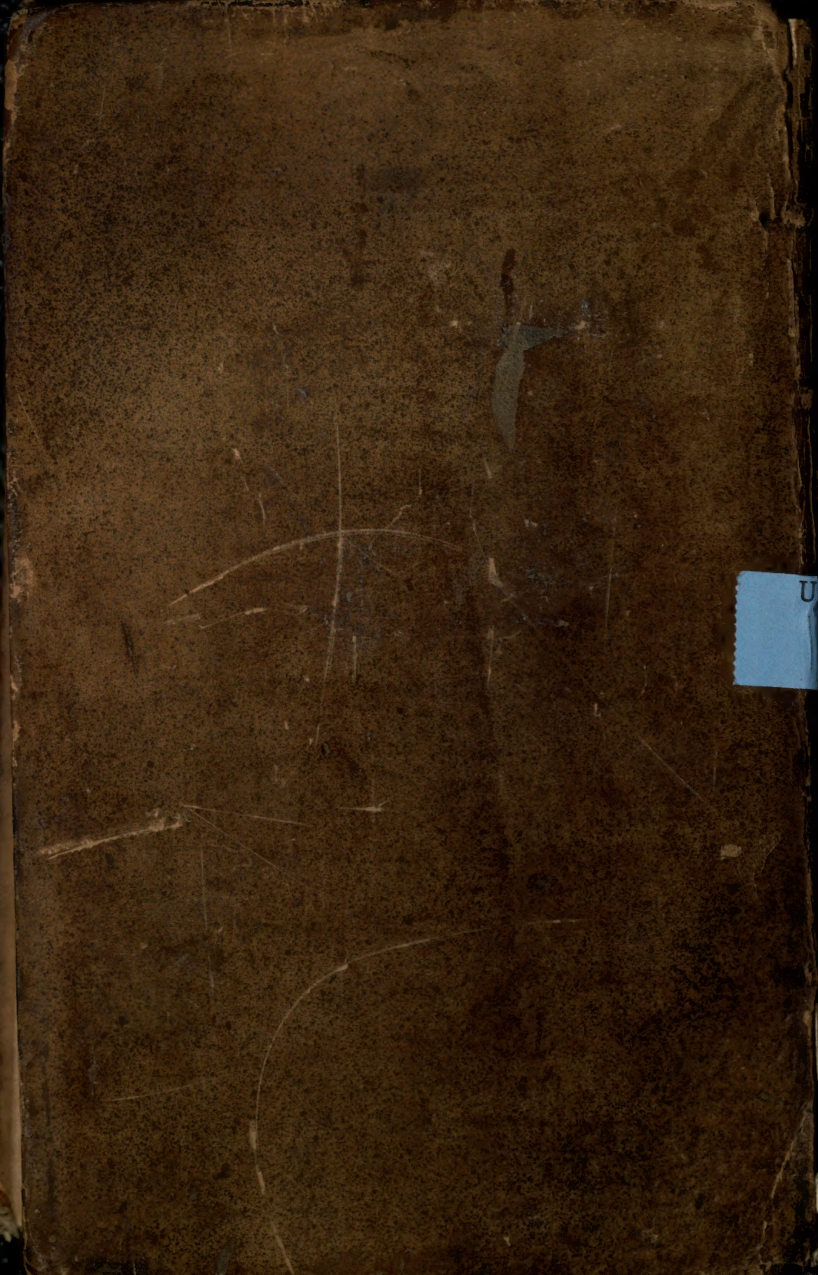
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